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Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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KHANNA'S

P.
REGISTER

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KHANNA BOOK DEPOT

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3rd May 1951

MUSLIM CONVENTION

Since the convention of Indian Muslims held at Lucknow in November, 1947, under the presidentship of Maulana Azad, there have been repeated occasions when their collective voice might have provided a timely and telling refutation of Pakistan's mischievous communal propaganda. The All-India Muslim Convention that met in Calcutta on Saturday and Sunday had as one of its particular objectives the need for protesting against Pakistan's policy which militated against the well-being of Indian Muslims, for so long as such refutation was not promptly forthcoming there was the danger, as Mr Zarif, chairman of the reception committee, told the convention, of their being labelled as potential fifth columnists by uncharitable critics. More specifically, the convention was designed to give the lie to the proceedings of the recent so-called World Muslim Conference held at Karachi. The instances given by Mr Zarif of questioning by leading Egyptian journals and by responsible public leaders in other countries of the credentials of the motley crowd that met at Karachi are damaging enough to Pakistan's propaganda stunt. The Calcutta convention has fully endorsed the stand taken by the Government of India on the Kashmir issue and has expressed the view that the future of the State must be decided on a religious basis but purely on political and economic grounds. Mr Khan Ahmed in his address to the convention pinned his hopes of a Muslim settlement on a joint display of statesmanship by the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan, but he was explicit and helpful when he declared on behalf of Indian Muslims that they had implicit faith in Mr Nehru. "We feel safe in Mr Nehru's hands. We have a growing faith in him as a man as well as a statesman. We entertain no doubt that he will be able to be inspired by the noblest motives in whatever he will do for Kashmir." The convention in resolution has reiterated the sentiment that it should serve to disabuse the minds of foreigners who had been misled to think of Kashmir in terms of the two-nation theory by communal propagandists. Kashmir is a looming large in Pakistan's communal propaganda barrage is but one of the perennial issues on which Indian Muslims need to speak out and that they have come to recognize that there are occasions when silence is a heartening development.

The Hindustan Times
2nd May, 1951

KASHMIR YUVRAJ'S PROCLAMATION

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, May 1.—The following is the text of the proclamation, (briefly reported yesterday) issued by Yuvraj Karan Singh, convoking a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing a Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir State:

"Whereas it is the general desire of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir that the Constituent Assembly should be brought into being for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the State and whereas the terms of the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja dated March 15, 1948 in regard to the convening of a national assembly do not meet the requirements of the present situation, I do hereby direct as follows:

That first, a Constituent Assembly consisting of representatives of the people elected on the basis of adult franchise shall be constituted forthwith for the purpose of framing a Constitution.

"Secondly, for the purpose of the said elections, the State shall be divided into a number of constituencies each containing a population of 40,000 or as nearly thereto as possible and each electing one member."

"A Delimitation Committee shall be set up by the Government to make recommendations as to the number of constituencies and the limits of each constituency."

"The elections to the Constituent Assembly shall be on the basis of adult franchise; that is to say, every person who

(a) is a State Subject of any class as defined in the Notification No. 1-L/84 dated Jammu April 18, 1927.

(b) is not less than 21 years of age on the 1st day of March 1951, and

(c) has been resident in the constituency for such period as may be prescribed by rules,

shall be entitled to be registered as a voter in the electoral rolls for that constituency."

"Provided that any person who is of unsound mind and has been so declared by a competent court shall be disqualified for such registration."

"The voting at the elections shall be direct and by secret ballot."

"The Constituent Assembly shall have power to act notwithstanding any vacancy in the membership thereof."

"The Constituent Assembly shall frame its own agenda and make rules for regulating its procedure and the conduct of its business."

"The Government shall make such rules, and issue such instructions or orders, as may be necessary to give effect to the terms of this proclamation."

"All things done and all steps taken before the issue of this proclamation with a view to facilitating the provisional preparation of electoral rolls for the purpose of elections to the Constituent Assembly shall in so far as they are in conformity with the provisions of this proclamation, be deemed to have been done or taken under this proclamation as it was in force at the time such steps were taken."

MONDAY, MAY 7, 1951.

THE TRUTH ABOUT KASHMIR

Coming as it does at this particular moment, the All-India Congress Committee's resolution on Kashmir endorsing the action of the Government of India in rejecting the last resolution of the Security Council and declaring it as "wholly unacceptable" to the people of India must be particularly welcome. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, who moved the resolution, did not mince words. He characterized the Security Council resolution as a challenge to our self-respect and declared that India would meet this challenge and would not let anybody ride roughshod over the country's self-respect. The demand made by several speakers that the Government should withdraw the Kashmir case from the U.N. showed the feeling roused by the attitude of the Security Council and though Pandit Pant rightly asked for the withdrawal of the amendments, those who imagine that policies formulated elsewhere could be forced down the throats of the people of India, as of old, have had a clear warning that Free India would not tolerate any such dictation.

The resolution is further proof that in their Kashmir policy the Government of India have behind them the people of this country to a man. This must dispose of the favourite foreign canard that Kashmir is a private affair of the Prime Minister on which he alone feels strongly while the rest of the country looks disinterestedly on. There have been criticisms of the Government of India's Kashmir policy in the foreign Press, and we in this country fully recognize their democratic right to do so, though we may disagree with them completely. But recently there has been an outbreak of frenzied attacks on the Government of India and the Prime Minister in the British Press which has exceeded the bounds even of decency. Saying that no single man ever caused such strain inside the Commonwealth (what about Dr Malan?) the *Sunday Express* declares that it was to placate him that India was allowed to remain in the Commonwealth as a Republic owing no allegiance to the Crown. The *Manchester Guardian* which, throwing overboard all its old liberal, humanitarian traditions, has recently ranged itself on the side of the reactionaries speaks of "the world being sick and tired of the disastrous quarrel." The *Economist* which, because of its present attitude towards public problems, both national and international, could more aptly be described as the *Wreckonomist* publishes a contribution from an Indian correspondent who, belying his origin, says that Mr Nehru's inspiration is not the Mahatma but Sir John Simon arguing Japan's case in Manchuria and Lord Runciman mediating Hitler into Sudetland and that the emotions which applaud him are those which acclaimed Munich. But worst of all is the *Daily Express* which in a vile attack on the Indian Prime Minister says: "Everybody knows the truth about Kashmir. Mr Nehru, world's champion big-mouth on themes of freedom and down with imperialism, has committed a flagrant act of aggression, an outrageous suppression of freedom. He uses brute force to prevent the Kashmir people uniting with the Indian people."

NEHRU'S ADVICE TO KASHMIRIS

Continued from page 1 col. 2

people of Kashmir knew very well and the whole world should know it that India's policy was peaceful. That policy would be continued to be followed everywhere unless India was forced into war by others.

In Kashmir, war was thrust upon them. In such circumstances no self-respecting people could adopt a helpless passive and quiet attitude. Indeed, it was obligatory for India to come to the aid of threatened Kashmir and to the rescue of the people.

Mr Nehru said: "We shall continue to do so as long as danger threatens from any side or quarter. But at the same time we shall continue our quest for peace to explore all avenues leading to it."

The Security Council did not contribute in any manner to a peaceful settlement of the problem. For the first time a departure was made from the earlier stands of peaceful negotiation and mediation for solving the Kashmir question by imposing upon them something against their will.

"This resolution," Mr Nehru added, "is not only contrary in several aspects to the previous decisions of the Security Council including the August 1948 resolution of the U.N. Commission and the facts of the case, but also involves India's breaking her pledge to Kashmir. Such a resolution would hinder India from discharging her obligations to Kashmir and as such India can never accept it."

Referring to what he called the anger of Kashmir people on the resolution, Mr Nehru said enthusiastic reception given to him yesterday by the people in Srinagar showed categorically where their wishes lay in these matters. The people of Srinagar had displayed their strong opposition to the resolution in unmistakable terms which he believed marked the feelings of the people all over Kashmir. "I can well understand your resentment at what has been done."

ELECTIONS TO C.A.

Referring to the holding of elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Nehru said he would not understand the objection of certain countries to holding the elections.

It had been repeatedly made clear that it was an internal matter. In no way did the holding of the elections challenge the security of the U.N. The proposed Constituent Assembly would give democratic basis to the State Government.

Mr Nehru declared that the people of India and Kashmir faced a situation which was not only difficult but required a firm and swift decision on their part.

"We have now to meet this new challenge to our self-respect and freedom. I have no doubt that we will meet it effectively."

Stressing the need for maintaining complete communal harmony and unity in the country, Mr Nehru said it was unfortunate certain communal splinter groups were raising their ugly heads again in Jammu Province. India stood against communalism of all kinds because she considered communalism an evil and challenge to the country. He expressed the hope that people would not be misled by communal slogans and would realize once for all that communalism would lead to betrayal of their freedom and everything they cherished as dear. Any person who indulged in communal activities not only did disservice to the nation but caused grave injury to his own narrow parochial interests which he sought to advance. Kashmir had become a symbol of communal unity and all people in India had to live up to it.—P.T.I.

JAMMU DEMONSTRATION

SRINAGAR, April 2.—A large procession of students and young men paraded the streets of Jammu today to protest against the Anglo-U.S. resolution on Kashmir.

The processionists carried various types of placards condemning the proposed "foreign interference" in the affairs of the people of the State. "Down with the Anglo-U.S. resolution," "arbitrator go back," and "we will decide our own fate" were some of the slogans raised by the processionists.

The demonstrators expressed unflinching faith in the leadership of Mr Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah.

Later Jammu students staged a demonstration outside the local U.N. H.Q.—P.T.I.

the Security Council resolution as a to say that he shares the guilt with de- Mr Attlee who was careless and this Lord Mountbatten who was foolish. They could, of course, have prevented the crime. But Nehru is the criminal."

Does everybody know the truth about Kashmir? The brutal truth about Kashmir is that Pakistan wants to grab it by force or fraud and those who saw to it that India was partitioned before she became free are again busy doing their worst to see that Kashmir is handed over to their protegee. The *Daily Express* talks crudely about aggression. Who went into Kashmir uninvited to kill and loot and burn? Not India, but Pakistan's friends across the borders. Pakistan not merely gave these raiders right of passage across her territory but provided them with arms, petrol and transport to complete their fell task. And when India complained to the Security Council, the latter, instead of asking Pakistan to call off the raiders, began a leisurely, interminable debate as to the merits of the dispute. And again it was Pakistan which sent her troops into Kashmir stealthily like a criminal in the dark when India was about to eject the raiders from her territory. Indian troops went in openly at the invitation of the Maharaja and his Chief Minister. Assuming for argument's sake that the Maharaja was a tyrant and Sheikh Abdullah Mr Nehru's stooge, does that justify foreign troops walking into their territory to wreak vengeance? There are other countries ruled by tyrants and stooges. But will the *Daily Express* dare send British troops into these countries? Sheikh Abdullah is a hundred times more representative of his people than Dr Syngman Rhee and if in Korea the crossing of the 38th Parallel by North Koreans is aggression and the United Nations have gone in as the saviour, by what perversity of logic does India which went in on invitation of the legally constituted

Government become the aggressor in Kashmir and those who came in to kill and loot the people, innocent victims of aggression? Under international law and the accepted practice of nations, a rebel Government gets the right to be recognized as the Government of the country only after the rebellion has succeeded and the rebels have established their authority over the whole country. In Kashmir today the Maharaja's Government is functioning as it has been functioning for the last hundred years and though the rebels control a vast territory, most of it is uninhabited or sparsely populated, with the result that the vast majority of the people of the State still owe allegiance to the Maharaja. For anyone to claim that this Government must be pulled down and Pakistan's stooges enthroned in Srinagar is to give the aggressor the fruits of aggression, without having to fight for it. Whose is the crime then and who is the criminal, pray?

May 6, 1951

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES. Tuesday, April 3, 1951

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM CONVENTION

Faith In Secular State Affirmed

CALCUTTA, May 5.—Mr. Sultan Ahmed, presiding over the All-India Muslim convention here today, declared the Kashmir question was a challenge of the West to the East.

"The awakened East must rise to the occasion, and to win that honour Mr Nehru and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan must join."

He hoped "these two wise statesmen and bold men of action will be equal to the task of hammering out a workable Kashmir formula and will resolve the protracted triangular mediation of Pakistan-India-U.N."

A war over Kashmir would be a more blundering business and not less fruitful of complications than the Korean war, he added. For Indian Muslims, he said: "We have faith in Mr Nehru's hands. We have faith in him as a man as well as a statesman, and we entertain no doubt that he will continue to be inspired by the best of motives in whatever he does about Kashmir."

INDIA CAN RESOLUTION

Challenge To Be Met Says Nehru

KASHMIRIS TOLD TO GO AHEAD WITH ELECTIONS

SRINAGAR, April 2.

MR NEHRU said here today India had not accepted the Anglo-U.S. resolution on Kashmir and would face all the consequences flowing from the passing of the resolution in the Security Council.

The arbitration resolution, the Prime Minister added, was a challenge to the self-respect of the people of Kashmir, nay the people of India. India could not carry out the resolution. "I am confident that we shall meet the challenge effectively," he added.

NO NEED TO BE PERTURBED

C.A. To Be Convened Says Abdullah

SRINAGAR, April 2.—Sheikh Abdullah counselled the National Conference workers here today not to be perturbed over what resolution the Security Council sitting thousands of miles away passed on Kashmir. But he asked them to strain every effort to bring to fruition their decision to convene a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of Kashmir.

"It was a different matter when the initiative lay with the Security Council. Now we have taken the initiative into our own hands and have adopted a positive programme for determining our future," he said.

Criticizing the latest resolution on Kashmir, particularly the provisions relating to arbitration, he said arbitration could reasonably solve matters of detail but could not be made the means of solving fundamental issues involving the future of millions of people.

In the past, Sheikh Abdullah added, Britain and Norway jointly rejected any arbitration of their dispute over Britain's rights in Norwegian home waters even though that did not involve people's lives there. Now arbitration was presented for Kashmir by Western Powers because they were accustomed to regard Asians as a lightly disposed of

Addressing about 500 workers of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Mr Nehru said India could not agree to any imposition or arbitrament against her will on the Kashmir issue. Nevertheless, India would continue her search for a peaceful settlement and would welcome any help towards this end.

The Prime Minister in his 40-minute address mainly touched on the arbitration resolution and India's stand in regard to Kashmir during the past three years.

He asked the workers not to be deterred by the resolution in any manner whatsoever in their work. The resolution could not affect the holding of elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr Nehru said he had expressed the views of the Government of India on the arbitration resolution in Parliament recently. The views of the Jammu and Kashmir Government were in full accord with them. The original resolution seemed to him as "most extraordinary and objectionable." As such, it could never be accepted. The amended resolution was in some respects an improvement. Nevertheless, it proceeded from a wrong premise and contained certain provisions which were "completely unacceptable." In spite of India's objection to this, the Security Council passed it. The passing of the resolution, however, did not lessen in any way India's objection to it nor change her attitude to it, Mr Nehru added.

Alluding to Pakistan's armed aggression in Kashmir, Mr Nehru said the

Continued on back page col. 3

lightly disposed of.

ANGLO-U.S. POLICY

He alleged Britain and the U.S.A. supported Pakistan because "they are sure of war bases in Pakistan in their global strategy." Mr Nehru's attitude on the contrary, he said, was Asia would no longer provide cannon fodder for wars waged by European nations. Wherever Mr Nehru addressed international audiences he had raised slogans of renaissance Asia and also of international peace. He had also made it clear that India's policy was to judge all issues on merits. By blackmail, intimidation and other base means they were trying to take revenge on him for his bold policy on China and Korea.

Sheikh Abdullah said Kashmiris had to determine their future and also to show that the National Conference was the largest political party in the State carrying the masses along with it.

"So long as India and Mr Nehru existed we will not allow Kashmir's honour to be trampled down by any other power," he said.

He told the workers he would march east to them if their life was jeopardized in an

KASHMIR SURE TO VOTE FOR INDIA, SAYS RAU

The Hindustan Times

March 5, 1951

Agreement With Pakistan Will Improve Relations

LAKE SUCCESS, March 5.

MR B. N. RAU said in a U.N. Radio interview he believed an impartial plebiscite in Kashmir would go in favour of India.

He was replying to the question: "In view of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the Kashmir people are of the Muslim faith how do you foresee the result of an impartial plebiscite to which both India and Pakistan have agreed?"

Mr Rau said: "I am glad you asked me this question because there is a good deal of misconception on this subject."

"Even today after the separation of Pakistan, India has a Muslim population of about 40 million which is a large and influential section whose interests are of as much concern to the Government of India as those of any other section. India is a secular State. There are large numbers of Muslims in Kashmir who would like Kashmir also to be a secular State and who think their political and economic problems would be best solved by remaining in India."

Replying to other questions the Indian delegate declared the dispute over Kashmir was one of several that existed between India and Pakistan. "This should not be a matter of surprise," he said.

"When a sub-continent which for centuries has grown up as a single economic and political entity is suddenly split up into separate States serious problems are likely to arise."

"And this has happened in the case of India and Pakistan."

An agreement over Kashmir between India and Pakistan, Mr Rau added, would help toward agreements on other disputed matters "and make for better relations."

Continued on back page col. 5

Constituent Kashmir PROCLAMATION

(From Our Correspondent)

A CONSTITUENT Assembly, constituted on the basis of adult franchise and Kashmir forthwith for the purpose of framing a constitution, according to a proclamation issued today by Yuvraj Karan Singh.

NO NEGOTIATION BY U.K. FOR PACIFIC PACT

LONDON, April 30.—The Government rejected a suggestion in the House of Commons today that it should negotiate with the U.S.A., France, Australia and New Zealand for a defence pact in the Pacific similar to the North Atlantic Treaty.

Mr Henry Hopkinson had suggested the defence pact should be open to all the peace-loving and democratic nations of South-East Asia and the Pacific.

Mr Kenneth Younger, Minister of State, in a brief written reply said: "no, sir."—P.T.I.-Reuter.

The Proclamation, published in the form of a Gazette Extraordinary, lays down the mode of delimitation of constituencies and other details of electoral procedure.

It may be recalled the General Council of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference passed a unanimous resolution in October last for the first time recommending the setting up of a constituent assembly for determining the future of the State. On February 24 this year, Sheikh Abdullah stated: "Our further development as democratic people demands the convening of a constituent assembly."

Karan Singh

A Press note issued today states the work of preparation of provisional electoral rolls began on December 15 last and was completed by March 1. The finalized rolls are expected to be ready in July. The present estimate of the number of voters is 1,546,000.



شمیر کی آئین سازی میں بی بی قاسم کے کردار کا نقشہ
پشتی غلام محمد کا اعلان
سریگڑہ 15 مارچ 1951ء
نائب وزیر خزانہ کی پیشکش
نے اعلان کیا ہے کہ کشمیر کے عوام آئین ساز کمیٹی کے قیام کا کام جاری رکھنے کا تہیہ کر رہے ہیں۔ ان کی کامیابی کے لیے وہ اپنی زندگی کی خدمت کر رہے ہیں۔ آئین ساز کمیٹی کے قیام کے لیے وہ اپنی زندگی وقف کر رہے ہیں۔
(پ. پ. ر. س. ت.)

The Hindustan Times
March 9th 1951

KASHMIR C.A. Parishad To Contest Elections

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, May 8.—The All-Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad Working Committee has decided to contest elections to the Constituent Assembly for the State.

The resolution passed by the Parishad Working Committee says: "Keeping in view the broad interests of the country and to strengthen the people's wishes for a democratic rule, the Praja Parishad Working Committee welcomes the establishment of the Constituent Assembly."

The resolution also demands representation for the Praja Parishad on the Delimitation Committee to be set up by the Government.

Although the Praja Parishad election manifesto has not yet been prepared, it is learnt the Parishad would stand complete adoption of the Indian Constitution for the State.

In another resolution the Parishad Working Committee has demanded the withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from the Security Council. The resolution demands that Jammu and Kashmir should be declared as an inseparable part of India.

Re-examination In Economics mandated: Contrary to usual practice students appearing in the university examination in Economics were surprised to get this year theory portion of economics in the first paper and descriptive portion in the second paper. Consequently the students staged a walk-out from the examination hall. It is now learnt the university had in fact made this change in the syllabus and had also conveyed their decision to the various colleges. Professors in the colleges, however, seem never to have worried to inform the students of this important change. The students, therefore, now demand examination in Economics.

preparation of provisional electoral rolls began on Dec. 1950 and completed March 1951. Final rolls expected to be ready in July 1951
Number of voters is, 1,546,000

Monday, March 19, 1951

U.N. MUST RESTORE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF KASHMIR STATE

Condition For Holding Plebiscite

SH. ABDULLAH'S SPEECH AT AMRITSAR

From Our Own Correspondent

KASHMIR'S territorial integrity must be restored before a plebiscite could be held, said the State's Premier, Sheikh Abdullah, addressing a meeting of the local Rotary Club last night.

"Pakistan believes in playing to the gallery," he said, "and has started talking of a plebiscite only now after having failed in its campaign of coercion, aggression and blackmail. We have been committed to a plebiscite from the very start."

Sheikh Abdullah said that people must understand the real issue at issue, which was the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a sovereign State. Maintaining its integrity, the question was whether it would associate with Pakistan or India in certain matters like defence, foreign affairs and communications.

He said it had been conceded by all that plebiscite was the only way to decide this issue, but only when the integrity of the State was restored. He regretted that Pakistan was trying to deceive the world by ignoring this cardinal point.

Continuing, Sheikh Abdullah described Sir Owen Dixon as a great jurist. When discussing the legal aspect Sir Owen had not faltered; he had unequivocally declared that Pakistan had committed a breach of international law. In other words, he had clearly named Pakistan as the aggressor in Kashmir.

But as a politician, Sheikh Abdullah said, Sir Owen had faltered. The Kashmir Premier reiterated that before any plebiscite could be held there was a wrong that had to be righted. Pakistan had no right to hold any part of Kashmir territory, and the plebiscite should be held under the auspices of the legally constituted authority of the State.

He ridiculed the idea of appointing a Plebiscite Administrator for Kashmir, and asked if the U.S.A. had ever thought of inviting a foreigner, say Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, to conduct the Presidential election. At the time of the plebiscite, Sheikh Abdullah said, the Kashmir Government would invite certain persons to act as observers, but the appointment of any superimposed authority for conducting the plebiscite would be an insult to the intelligence of the people. He felt that the task of plebiscite would be easier if the integrity of the State were restored first; then there

AMRITSAR, March 18.

Sheikh Abdullah's Speech

Continued from page 1 col. 1

would also arise the question of settling millions of uprooted persons, as they could not arrange a plebiscite without the people who had to record their desire.

Sheikh Abdullah then said that so long as Mahatma Gandhi's spirit prevailed in India they could not bend before any falsehood. He regretted that America had not understood the real import of the problem. Mahatma Gandhi had laid down his life for the sake of truth, following the path of truth regardless of whether people liked it or not. Likewise, Sheikh Abdullah said, he in common with the people of Kashmir had faith in truth regardless of consequences. Even if the result of the plebiscite went against him, he could not and would not swerve from the path of truth.

Sheikh Abdullah had begun his speech by saying that he did not hate Pakistan or the people of Pakistan for, according to him, there was no distinction between Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims but only between oppressor and oppressed. He stood only for justice.

Tuesday, March 13, 1951.

KASHMIR LAND ACT CHALLENGED

Appeal Filed In Jammu

From Our Own Correspondent

JAMMU, March 12: An appeal, challenging mutation under the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, as being made at present in the case of joint Hindu family, has been filed here by the Maghar Singh in the Court of the Special Land Reforms Officer, the final appellate authority under the Act. Mr. Santram Baroo, counsel for the appellant argued that every coparcener of a joint Hindu family had the right in property. An entry in revenue papers conferred no title as held by the Privy Council. Notices under Section 14 had to be issued, therefore, to all members of the joint family, everyone of whom had a right in property, he said.

Council further contended that the Act contemplated extinction of the right of "a proprietor" and not of recorded proprietor. Mutations which are against the personal law of the parties, could not stand. Decision of this important test case expected shortly.

PAKISTAN PROTEST TO U.N.

Constituent Assembly For Kashmir

NEW YORK, May 6.—Pakistan protested to the Security Council yesterday against plans for a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir.

Mr Zafrullah Khan, in a letter to the Council, called for adequate measures to halt the move. He said it could prejudice further negotiations in the Kashmir dispute and was "bound to create an explosive situation charged with grave possibilities affecting the maintenance of international peace."

Pakistan's protest, Mr Zafrullah said, was based on a proclamation issued by the Yuvraj of Kashmir on April 30.

The following is the text of the letter, dated May 4, sent by Mr Zafrullah to the President of the Security Council:

"I have the honour to draw your attention and the attention of the Security Council to a report which has appeared in the Press in India and Pakistan that the Yuvraj of Jammu and Kashmir issued a proclamation on April 30, 1951, for convoking a Constituent Assembly in the State.

"The proclamation contains details of the procedure for convening the Assembly and adds that the proposed action can no longer be delayed without detriment to the future well-being of the State.

"In this connection I would invite the attention of the Security Council to my letter dated December 14, 1950, addressed to its President, and the resolution concerning the India-Pakistan question adopted by the Security Council on March 30, 1951.

"The preamble of the said resolution clearly indicates the view of the Security Council with regard to the convoking of a Constituent Assembly in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Clause 8 of the resolution calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to refrain from any action likely to prejudice a just and peaceful settlement of the problem.

"The Security Council will appreciate that this move by the Government of India and the Yuvraj's Government seeks to nullify the specific resolution of March 30, 1951, and to the authority

ABDULLAH WARNS YUVRAJ 1951

Maharaja's Return Not Possible

JAMMU, April 9.—Sheikh Abdullah said yesterday any attempt to help Maharaja Hari Singh's return to the State "will be resisted by the people of Jammu and Kashmir with all their might."

He said it pained him to learn that the Regent of Kashmir, Yuvraj Karan Singh (son of the Maharaja), was "frequently conferring with the reactionary communal leaders who are plotting to bring back the Maharaja." He would request the Yuvraj to realize the implications and consequences of such a course.

"I still hope," said Sheikh Abdullah, "the young Prince will listen to better counsels. But if he persists in seeking the advice of the reactionaries and the communalists, I can only tell him—for the time has come for plain speaking—that his future will not be far different from that of his father. Let the Yuvraj realize that the days of the Rajas and the Nawabs are past. Even in those places where monarchy is still tolerated, it is only subject to the will of the people which is supreme."

The Kashmir Chief Minister, who was addressing a gathering of peasants at Panthel village, about 30 miles from here, added: "Maharaja Hari Singh's chapter, so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, is closed. He is not going to return even if he still nurses any dreams about it."

Sheikh Abdullah said a few "disgruntled" leaders of the Praja Parishad in Jammu had now made the Maharaja a rallying slogan of their Party. But the people of Kashmir were clear in their minds. They would not let the rich secular traditions of Kashmir be undone.

He said the Kashmir Government was strong enough to put down the activities of any communal group. But he did not want the end of those communal cliques to come at the hands of the Government. "It is the people who can do this job, and I am confident they will," he said.

Earlier the Chief Minister declared open an eight-mile-long canal constructed in six months by the people of Panthel in their spare time.—P.T.I.

U.N. CAN WATCH KASHMIR ELECTIONS

Addressing the Delhi State Political Conference on Sunday, Maulana Mohammed Sayeed, General Secretary, Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, said elections to the proposed Constituent Assembly for Kashmir would be free and fair and all political elements would have the right to propagate their views and contest the elections.

"We have nothing to hide. The U.N. can send its observers to see for themselves how the elections are conducted and if they find anything wrong there is nothing to prevent them from telling it to the world at large," he added.

Referring to the U.N. resolution on Kashmir, he said it was clear that certain Powers were interested in handing over Kashmir to Pakistan so as to be able to use this strategically-placed State as a pawn in their game of Power politics. Kashmir's accession to India was bound to defeat their plans and they were, therefore, determined to do all in their power to prevent it.

Alluding to the talk of *jehad* in Pakistan, he said: "If the people of India and Kashmir have borne silently this crazy talk of war it is only because like a responsible people they did not consider it proper to indulge in any irresponsible talk while the case was before the U.N., but now that that body claiming to stand for justice and equity, has chosen to side with the aggressor, we are under no obligation to put up with these threats. Pakistan should not misconstrue our silence as a sign of weakness. She must know any attempt on her part to re-enact the 1947 'blitzkrieg' is not going to succeed. We will meet G.D. Nanavati, Deshmukh, and later in the month of May."

DER PROHIBITION

Kashmir Assembly Elections

SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S ASSURANCE

From Our Staff Correspondent
SRINAGAR, May 6: "The Kashmir Government are not concerned whether it is Dr. Graham or anybody else who comes as U.N. Representative. Our attitude will be consistent with the policy enunciated by Mr. Nehru," said Sheikh Abdullah in a special interview yesterday.

The Kashmir problem having become international, Mr. Nehru should be left unfettered to deal with it on behalf of the Kashmiris according to their express wishes, he added.

He declared that the plans of those ill-disposed towards Kashmir would misfire. "We will win."

Referring to the apprehensions in the minds of world Powers and their objections to the proposal for a Constituent Assembly for Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah said elections would be fair and foreign observers would be invited.

1262
SEALED tenders are invited on plain paper complete with drawings and calculations to be eventually drawn up in lump sum form for constructing a high-level bridge on the River Burhi Gandak at Akharaghat at Muzaffarpur in the 1st mile of Muzaffarpur-Sitamarhi Road. These will be received by the undersigned upto 31st May, 1951. The details may be had from the office of the undersigned. The waterway to be provided is 1300 feet, the loading should be I.R.C. class AA & the

JOHARI FIVE

ISPANHANI SPEAKS ON KASHMIR ISSUE

NEW YORK, April 30.—Mr Ispahani, Pakistani Ambassador to the U.S.A., returned here yesterday after a seven-week leave in Pakistan.

Asked by reporters if Pakistan had plans to send troops to Korea, Mr Ispahani said: "So long as the Kashmir problem remains unresolved, both Pakistan and India will dissipate their energies and resources in watching each other."

Asked if the Kashmir problem were solved, would it permit the sending of Pakistani troops to Korea, Mr Ispahani answered: "I think India and Pakistan would be able to play a greater part in world affairs and contribute fully their share to peace in the world."—P.T.I.-Reuter.

Russian Objection Overruled INDIA ABSTAINS FROM VOTING

LAKE SUCCESS, April 30.

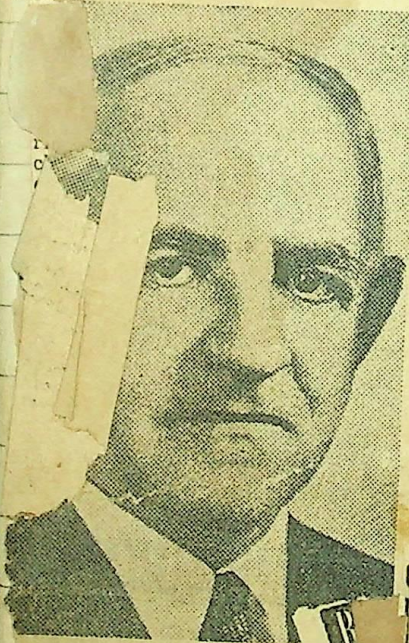
THE U.N. Security Council today appointed Mr Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, as U.N. Representative to settle the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. Mr Graham was nominated by Britain and the U.S.A.

Earlier, M Malik (Russia) challenged the nomination of a U.S. citizen, but the objection was overruled by seven votes in favour of the nomination, none against and four abstentions. Those abstaining were the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands (President) and India.

The President declared and Mr B. N. Rau confirmed that India had not participated in the vote by virtue of the Charter which forbids parties to a dispute from voting.

M Malik asked why the representative had to be an American. Why should the Council choose a representative from a Big Power and not from among the non-permanent members of the Council?, he asked.

The President of the Council said that everyone had been free to propose candidates for the post. Dr Graham's name was the only one to be put forward.—P.T.I.-Reuter.



MR FRANK GRAHAM

Mr. Frank P. Graham, former U.S. Senator from North Carolina, was appointed Defence Manpower Director in the Department of Labour as president of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He was elected Senator from North Carolina in 1949. He was member of the U.S. National War Labor Mediation Board from 1941 to 1942; member of the Public Hearings Committee of the U.S. Labour Management Board in 1945, and a member of the Council of governors of the American Red Cross from 1947 to 1950. He was U.S. representative on the U.N. Offices Committee in Indonesia. Graduate of the University of North Carolina, Mr Graham was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1886.

Hindustan Times April 29,

India Not To Relinquish Stand On Kashmir

PRESSURE TACTICS OF POWERS TO BE FACED

BULANDSHAHR, April 28.

THE Congress President declared here today India was powerful enough to face pressure tactics of outside Powers to force her to relinquish her stand on the Kashmir issue.

Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, who was addressing a public meeting called by the Congress, said: "The U.K. and the U.S.A. have committed a grave error in their joint resolution on Kashmir which was passed in the Security Council."

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR KASHMIR

Yuvraj Issues Proclamation

From Our Own Correspondent

JAMMU.

YUVRAJ KARAN SINGH has issued a proclamation convening a Constituent Assembly for Jammu and State. The proclamation, published in a Government Extraordinary today, makes no reference to access to State, future of the ruling dynasty and compensation of landed landlords.

The proclamation, says: "Whereas it is the general desire of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir that a Constituent Assembly should be brought into being for the purpose of framing a constitution for the State, and whereas the terms of the

proclamation of His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, dated March 5, 1948, in regard to convening of a National Assembly, do not meet the requirement of the present situation, I do hereby proclaim the following: First, a Constituent Assembly consisting of representatives of the people elected on the basis of adult franchise shall be convened forthwith for the purpose of framing a constitution, and the purpose of the said Assembly shall be divided into constituencies, each of population of 40,000 or thereabout as possible and one member."

Referring to the selection of a delimitation committee, the proclamation lays down conditions for becoming a voter. First, a State subject; and second, should be not less than 21 years of age on March 1, 1951, and

Hindustan Times May 1. 1957.

P.M. RULES OUT KASHMIR MAHARAJA'S RETURN

W. To Anti-Democratic Elements

JAMMU, April 3.

MR NEHRU announced here today amidst thunderous cheers there was absolutely no question of Maharaja Hari Singh returning to Kashmir.

"He will not return and we are not going to be threatened by an utterly narrow-minded cry raised in a section here," the Prime Minister declared emphatically.

Mr Nehru, who was addressing a gathering of 50,000, said: "We are not in any way prepared to reverse the process of history just to please the whims of a few people, particularly when the entire Indian people, including those of Jammu and Kashmir, have dedicated themselves to the task of strengthening the foundation of democracy."

The Prime Minister reiterated that India would stand by her decision not to accept the latest U.N. resolution on Kashmir. He said: "Now that the resolution has been accepted by the Security Council I wish to make it clear that we totally disavow the resolution and cannot carry out its provisions."

He added that the Indian Army would remain on the soil of Jammu and Kashmir so long as the people of the State required it for their defence.

"There is absolutely no question of any country or any Power preventing or deterring us from doing this task and discharging this obligation," he said amidst cheers.

Referring to India's efforts for the

preservation of world peace, Mr Nehru said: "We can say with pride India has succeeded in preventing another war to some degree."

"However, if a world war does break out India will not get herself entangled in it unless her very existence as a free nation is in dire peril."

The greatest danger that faced India today was that of the people getting involved in petty problems and forgetting larger issues at stake.

Whenever his heart was weighed down by anxiety and whenever he found any flagging of his will and faith, the Prime Minister said, he always took inspiration from the single-minded tenacity, grit and determination of India's soldiers, sailors and airmen who were doing their task without even raising a whisper of discontent. It was this spirit which entire India could emulate with profit.

"We must put an end to thinking in terms of groups and cliques," he said.

On the question of land reforms, he said today both the Government and the people of India were deeply conscious of the fact that no longer could a few handful of people monopolize selfishly the benefits of ownership of land.

If in the process of land reforms some people were adversely affected, that was inevitable in the process of such dynamic transformation which was intended for the good of the majority of the people.—P.T.I.

INDIA'S STAND ON KASHMIR ENDORSED

MUSLIM CONVENTION RESOLUTION

CALCUTTA, May 6.—The All-India Muslim Convention, which concluded its session in Calcutta today, expressed the view that the future of Kashmir must be decided "not on a religious basis but purely on political and economic grounds".

In a 400-word resolution, adopted unanimously, the Convention declared that the appearance on the Kashmir scene of a foreign arbitrator—Dr Graham—"will complicate the issue further and may lead to Kashmir becoming another Korea".

It completely endorsed the stand taken by the Nehru Government on the Kashmir question.

The Convention declared that the recent World Muslim Conference in Karachi was in no way representative of the Muslims of the world or of the Islamic countries "because important countries like India and the Soviet Union were completely ignored".

"The Muslims of India were left out because of the fear that these people might put forth their viewpoint with regard to Kashmir, rendering it impossible for Pakistan to have it all their own way", the resolution said.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Describing the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir as the most suitable method of ascertaining the people's will, the Convention opined that any decision that might be taken in the matter by the Assembly should be regarded as final and representing the will of the Kashmiri people.

The resolution reiterated the faith of Indian Muslims in Mr Nehru and firmly believed that he would continue to be inspired with the noblest of motives as he had been in the past in his decisions about Kashmir.

Mr Aizaz Hussain, of Meerut, who moved the resolution, said that Pakistan had no right to Kashmir, which belonged to India.

Winding up the deliberations of the Convention, Sir Sultan Ahmed congratulated the delegates for the sense of responsibility displayed by them in dealing with the Kashmir issue. By passing it unanimously, he said, they had exhibited a spirit of understanding of the complex problem.—P.T.I.

*The Hindustan Times Wednesday
April 4, 1951*

resident in a particular locality for a period to be prescribed by rules. Any person of unsound mind who has been so declared by a competent court shall be disqualified from becoming a voter.

The proclamation adds: "Voting shall be direct and by secret ballot. The Constituent Assembly shall have the power to act, notwithstanding any vacancy in membership thereof. The Constituent Assembly shall have its own agenda and rules for its own agenda and business. Government make such rules as are necessary to give effect to this proclamation."

A press note issued today said that the work of the preparatory provisional electoral rolls by December 18, 1950, and these ready by March 1 last. The rolls are expected to be ready by the end of the month. The number of voters is estimated at 15,46,000.

LANDLORD'S APPEAL DISMISSED

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, March 26.—The issue that mutations under the Big Landed Estates Act, as being made at present in the case of joint Hindu families, are void on the ground that in a joint Hindu family not only the manager, who is recorded as owner in the revenue records, but every member has ownership in a joint property and therefore every member is entitled to 182 canals under the said Act has been dismissed by Mr Ramchandra Raina, who is the final appellate authority under the

even appeals, three against the State eight against the tillers in whose favour his lands had been transferred, had been filed in this connection by Mr Magharsingh, landlord, Ranbirsinghpura tehsil.

Hindustan Times May PROCLAMATION ON C.A. FOR KASHMIR WELCOMED

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, May 2.—A resolution welcoming the proclamation of Yuvraj Karan Singh of Kashmir for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly in the State was passed here yesterday at the third annual convention of the Jammu Central Labour Union.

The Union by another resolution criticized the U.N. resolution on Kashmir which was sponsored by the Anglo-U.S. representatives.

It demanded of the State Government to pronounce a definite labour policy and to enact labour laws.

H.F. 27A April
1951

CONSTITUTION BODY FOR KASHMIR

No Change In Plans

JAMMU, April 26: Sheikh Moham-
mad Abdullah, the Kashmir Premie.,
reiterated yesterday that the State's
Constituent Assembly would be con-
vened as planned.

Speaking before a peasant gather-
ing at Reasi in the mountainous
north-western area of the Jammu
Province, Shiekh Abdullah said that
the accession of the State to India
would be ratified by the Constituent
Assembly.

WILL BE

Later Jammu students staged a
demonstration outside the

Sloterman **U.N. KASHMIR DEBATE
ON MONDAY**

27 April
1951

LAKE SUCCESS, Apr 26.—The Security Council will meet on April 30 to continue examination of the Kashmir question.—PTI-
Reuter.

KASHMIR AND UNITED NATIONS

Tribune BY
29 April
B. P. SHARMA

No question—no, not even the dismembering of India to create Pakistan—has agitated the mind of us Indians so deeply as the question of Kashmir. And yet, surprisingly little care had, except till very lately, been taken to gauge public feeling on this, much less to act in accordance with it. It is gratifying therefore to find, at long last, our Government taking up a strong, firm and clear attitude on this matter.

While certainly there was room for difference of opinion on the sagacity of referring our complaint against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue to the U.N.O, it should be apparent now, in view of the flagrantly perverse attitudes of the U.S. and the U.K. delegations, that no good can come out of our continuing to prosecute our case in the forum of the U.N.O. It was verily an act of faith—misplaced faith as it turns out to be—for India to have stayed her hand militarily in Kashmir at a time when it was well-poised to clear it of its raiders and their abettors in a matter of weeks; and instead, to have asked the U.N.O. to use its good offices to prevent Pakistan aiding and committing aggression there. It is a great irony that the big powers in the U.N.O., instead of appreciating India's fine gesture for solving the dispute peacefully even when it could have solved it otherwise to its greater advantage, seized on the opportunity to serve their own ulterior ends—irrespective of the merits of the case. From an external issue which was specifically referred to it, the U.N.O. has progressively been encroaching like the camel in the Camel and the Arab story, on the essentially domestic sphere of India.

Soft-Worded

It must be confessed that India has been rather soft-worded and fastidious in presenting her case. All the time we have cared more for the feelings of Pakistan and its British protectors than for our own essential interests. In our pursuit of peace and anxiety for the maintenance of good neighbourly relations, we have all the time been understating our case. It is true that it was so strong and fool-proof that we should have had no difficulty, hands down, in convincing the U.N.O. of its justice. But as it happens, power politics and selfish interests, and not justice or fair-play, are the guiding principles of the nations that count in the counsels of the U.N.O. The fact moreover is that we have been speaking there the language of the drawing room, whereas it is the language of the market-place which seems to be the language understood there, and from all appearances, respected too. So were it not for our anxiety not to displease Britain or affect our good relations with it, our delegation at Lake Success could have hauled Britain over the coals and without mincing matters told the world

that it is Britain again which not content with having dismembered India by her sustained policies of divide-and-rule, was even now bent, in complicity with Pakistan and America, on weakening it still further by encouraging centrifugal forces and tendencies and that Kashmir was a case in point. By exposing the sinister and mischievous designs of our erstwhile British rulers, we could have effectively silenced their spokesmen at Lake Success and left them with no face to dare to preach sermons to us. In all conscience, India has much to forgive Britain, and to forget, without the Jebbs making the task more difficult. As for Pakistan, India could have insisted on its being branded as aggressor first, and refused to move an inch further until this was done. Our large-heartedness and conciliatory attitude has been mistaken for weakness and want of confidence in the strength and justice of our cause. We made concessions after concessions in the hope of a peaceful even though a somewhat disadvantageous solution; and now we find the aggressor as good as equated with the protector; complainant and accused on an equal footing. And those who manoeuvred us into that position are preaching homilies to us. It is good to know that we have decided to tell them that we would not stand that nonsense any longer.

Conditions for Plebiscite

True, India committed itself to a plebiscite in Kashmir to ascertain Kashmiris' wishes with regard to accession. But it was to be a free impartial plebiscite—with a taboo on appeals to religion or communalism. The conditions for that plebiscite are wholly wanting in the context of the present; and considering, for one thing, the unspeakably wild, unbelievably vile and intensely provocative propaganda let loose hourly by the Pakistan-run "Azad Kashmir" radio and of Pakistan itself (on which, most strangely, the U. S. A.-U. K. resolution have not a word to say) there is no likelihood of those conditions obtaining in the near or the fore-seeable future. Moreover plebiscite was India's and Kashmir's and no busibodies' business. We should be outspoken enough now to say after our experience, that much as we support the U. N. O. as an organisation for the peaceful solution of the international disputes and have no intention of doing anything to detract from its dignity and prestige, the way it is worked and manipulated to suit the selfish interests of the big powers have not exactly inspired confidence in its impartiality so that matters, not justiciable or arbitrable, be entrusted to it for settlement.

C. A. For Kashmir

Why should the idea of a Constituent

Assembly for Kashmir upset U. K., U. S. and their protege Pakistan? Is it because there would no longer be left any scope for the tactics that Britain and Pakistan have always banked upon and which have always paid rich dividends? With Kashmiris deciding their own fate in the only manner feasible now, there would be no troubled waters for them to fish in. Plebiscite was contemplated only under conditions when Kashmir could, as a whole, calmly consider its interests, and certainly not when a big slice of its territory stands separated in violation of the laws of civilized society, and in hands other than those of its lawful government. The so-called Azad Kashmir government has no existence in international law, Britain's and America's soft corner for it notwithstanding. If in these circumstances Kashmiris exercise their inherit right of determining their future in their own way—a way recognised as perfectly constitutional the world over, it is nobody's business but their own. The anxiety of the British and the U. S. delegation to prevent the proposed Constituent Assembly from coming into being and functioning borders on the indecent.

Our Government has our complete backing in the determined attitude it has lately taken up on this issue. We are glad that doubts and uncertainties have been banished—we hope, for good. The Prime Minister has our fullest support in his firm stand and the unequivocal and firm language in which he has replied to the U. K. and U. S. delegations at Lake Success. We hope, that the period of hesitation and vacillation has ended and the chapter of firm decision and determined action has begun.

Times of India
2/7/52

KASHMIR TALKS State Delegation Meets Mr. Nehru

From Our Special Correspondent

The Kashmir delegation, consisting of the Revenue Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, the Deputy Home Minister, Dr. D. P. Dhar, and Maulana Mohammad Sayeed, had two meetings with the Prime Minister on Wednesday.

The Kashmir Premier, Sheikh Abdullah, is expected to join the delegation in the next two days or so, when he will stay with Mr. Nehru as his guest.

During the intervening period, it is believed, certain details arising out of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly decision to abolish hereditary rulership and its substitution by an elected head of the State will be discussed.

It is further believed that Yuvraj Karan Singh is the likely choice for the first elected head of the State.

Along with this issue, other constitutional questions like the relation of the President of the Indian Union with the State of Jammu and Kashmir, position of the Union flag vis-a-vis the State flag and the application of the fundamental rights to the State are also likely to come up for consideration.

Hindustan Times 4-7-52

Kashmir Delegation Talks In Delhi

[By Our Special Correspondent]

NEW DELHI, Thursday.—Members of the Kashmir delegation had a long conference with four Ministers of the Government of India this evening. The Ministers were Mr. Nehru, Maulana Azad, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Dr. K. N. Katju.

During the talks lasting for more than two hours the details of the proposal to end hereditary rule in Kashmir are understood to have been discussed. It was the first meeting of its kind between Kashmir representatives and Central Ministers.

Delhi Express

2/7/52

Kashmir Delegates Arrive In Delhi

The Kashmir delegation, consisting of Mr. M. A. Beg, Revenue Minister, Mr. D. P. Dhar, Deputy Home Minister, and Mir Kasim, Chief Parliamentary Secretary, arrived in New Delhi on Tuesday by train for talks with the Government of India.

Kashmir Parleys Open In Delhi

ROUND OF TALKS WITH NEHRU AND AZAD

(Continued from Page 1 Col. 8)
Sahib will be the guest of the Prime Minister of India.

Sheikh Abdullah will participate in the final phase of Indo-Kashmir talks which were formally resumed this morning by the advance Kashmir delegation party with Pandit Nehru.

The present talks primarily relate to replacement of hereditary rule by an elected constitutional head of Kashmir.

According to the Kashmir delegation, this change can be brought about by a notification

and Lowest Rs. 157.5 and 155.4 Gold started quiet at Rs. 88-4 and moved within narrow range. Subsequent yielded some ground to liquidation with the market closing quiet at Rs. 87-12. Spot 88-4 Highest and lowest Rs. 88-5 and 87-1. The oftake in silver was against arrivals of 80 bars while the inflow in gold swelled to 12,000 tolas with an outflow of 6,000. Opening: Silver Ready 156-4 Forward 156-6 to 156-8 Gold Ready 88-10 Forward 88-1 to 88-2 Sov. unquoted. Closing: Silver Ready 155-15 Forward 155-15 New 156-6 Gold Ready 88-4 Forward 88-4 Sov. 86-12 Mysore gold ready 88-6. CALCUTTA: Opening: Silver Ready 155-12 Forward 155-4 Gold Ready 89-4 Forward 88-14 Sovereign 62-12. Closing: Silver Ready 155-4 Forward 155-11 Forward (Till) 155-3 Gold Ready 89 Forward 88-12 Sovereign 62-12. DELHI: Silver Ready (999) 158-4 (996) 157 Tezabi 156-4 Gadi 155 Coin 140 Forward Opening 156-4 Gold Ready Diamond 89-4 Silver 88-12 Patra 88 Rawa 87 Forward 88-2 Sovereign Raja 62-8 Rani 62. HAVRE: Futures Silver 154-8 Gold 85-8. Closing: Bullion Closed very steady on speculative coverings. Silver Forward Closed 155-13 Depend upon India under liquidation.

INDO-KASHMIR TALKS AT DELHI

Constitutional & Legal Pundits Busy

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 2.—According to lobby reports, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Republic, acting in his personal capacity, is reported to have held prolonged discussions with Kashmir leaders, explained the Indian viewpoint regarding the Indo-Kashmir relations and informally conveyed Srinagar's feelings and reactions to New Delhi.

His persuasive efforts seem to be responsible for Sheikh Abdullah's reported decision to come to Delhi and participate in the delicate negotiations for the acceptance of the state Constituent Assembly's demand for an elective head of the state.

It is widely known here that the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State had earlier declined to accept the invitation to visit Delhi for consultations.

Despite inspired disclaimers published in a section of the Anglo-Indian press, it is well known that relations between Srinagar and New Delhi got strained after Sheikh Abdullah's utterances at Ranbirsinghpura and at other points around Srinagar and Pandit Nehru's feelings found expression at a Delhi public meeting soon after.

Lobby feeling seems to be willing to accept the position that the state of Jammu and Kashmir acceded three subjects, defence, foreign affairs and communications.

It is, however, emphasised why

India should not ask for the bill for expenditure on so many schemes, including food, which are outside those subjects.

It is asked why aid to Kashmir bill should mount up, year in, year out,—day by day—if Kashmir is interested only in three subjects, for which India has already been paying heavily, without actually taking over communications which have not yet been handed over to India.

There is a growing feeling for recognising the special status of the Jammu and Kashmir state, at the same time crying a halt to further financial commitments, without necessary control over expenditure outside the obligation undertaken to defend the state from outside aggression and maintain internal security.

Pandit Nehru is reported to have explained at length the delicate position regarding Kashmir at an informal meeting of selected members of the Congress Party and opposition groups, it is learnt. Real negotiations for a settlement of the outstanding Indo-Kashmir issues would start when Sheikh Abdullah arrives and meets Pandit Nehru.

Our correspondent at New Delhi wires:

Sheikh Abdullah is not arriving here to-morrow, as stated in some newspapers, but reaching Delhi definitely before Sunday. It is further learnt that during his stay in Delhi the Sheikh

(Continued on Page 8 Col. 7)

Probation
3/7/52

Statement 2/2/52

SHAIKH ABDULLAH ARRIVES IN DELHI TOMORROW

TALKS WITH NEHRU ON ACCESSION

NO SUGGESTION OF "CRISIS"

FROM OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI, Tuesday.—Sheikh Abdullah, the Jammu and Kashmir Premier, is expected here on Thursday for consultations with Mr Nehru over problems relating to details of the accession.

HIS proposed visit will be somewhat earlier than was lately thought likely and may be the result of adverse comment in the past few days over the current negotiations.

There is no suggestion in official circles here to regard the present stage of the talks as "critical", as it has been made to appear in certain quarters in this country and abroad.

Nevertheless, it is known that the discussions, which were hitherto devoted mainly to broad principles, will now tackle important details relating to subjects in the Union List.

Sheikh Abdullah's presence in Delhi will have the principal advantage of clarifying outstanding doubts in the minds of Indian politicians, especially certain members of Parliament. From that point of view, it is pointed out, it might be worth while for him to meet not only Congress representatives but also Opposition spokesmen in the House of the People. Already, the Prime Minister has given the lead in the matter by personal contact with Dr S. P. Mookerjee. It is understood that their meeting on Sunday resulted in a useful discussion.

Meanwhile, the advance party of the Jammu and Kashmir delegation, consisting of the Revenue Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, the Deputy Home Minister, Mr D. P. Khattar, and the Chief Parliamentary Secretary, Mr Mir Kasim, is already here.

Members of the delegation today Maulana Azad and Mr Gopal Ayyangar. They are likely to have discussions tomorrow with the Minister of States, Dr K. P. Singh.

TRANSFER OF LAND TO TILLERS IN KASHMIR

[From Our Correspondent]

SRINAGAR, July 1.—According to the latest official figures, 1,083,420 kanals of land had been transferred to 120,996 tillers till the end of May under the Big Estates Abolition Act in Jammu and Kashmir State. Under this Act, during the same period, 355,588 kanals of land had vested in the State. This latter category of land is distributed for cultivation under certain priorities, first being for the refugees settled on land, secondly for the landless labourers and then to the tenants owning small holdings.

Hindustan Times
2/7/52

Times of India
2/7/52

PARISHAD OPPOSES SEPARATION

[From Our Correspondent]

JAMMU, July 1.—A booklet entitled *Jammu Rejects A Separate Constitution For Jammu And Kashmir State*, published and widely distributed here by the Praja Parishad states that "braved by Mr Nehru's generosity Sheikh Abdullah has, through Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg, Chairman of the Basic Principles Committee, got it declared in the Constituent Assembly that the State should have a separate flag, a separate Constitution, a separate mark of the State and a separate judiciary. This right of separation he claims by virtue of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution."

It adds: "The demand of the Praja Parishad is that this State should not be given any special preference but should be treated on an equal basis with other Part B States in India. Many people of Jammu province do not want a separate Constitution. They have shown it by boycotting the last elections to the Constituent Assembly. They have also demonstrated by protests, hartals and public meetings that they are not at the back of this move of separation of the State from the Indian Union."

It concludes: "The people of Jammu and Ladakh in particular irrespective of caste and creed, and that of the State in general are looking forward that the whole of India will extend to the people of the State its helping hand in their life-and-death struggle for their very existence by forcing the Government of India to extend the Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State."

PARLEYS ON KASHMIR

Sheikh Abdullah To Visit Delhi

From Our Special Representative

Kashmir's Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, is expected to visit New Delhi before the week-end to discuss with representatives of the Government of India the questions of the abolition of monarchy and a separate flag for the State.

Mirza Afzal Beg and Mr. D. P. Dhar, who had hitherto carried on negotiations with the Government of India on these problems, arrived in New Delhi on Tuesday morning to resume the talks. They met Maulana Azad and, later, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju and Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

Although circles close to the Kashmir delegation seem to think that a mere promulgation of Presidential Order would be enough to accommodate the delegation's proposals in relation to the Indian Constitution, a certain section of parliamentary opinion is of the view that the Constitution will have to be amended if the proposals of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly are to be accepted.

The matter is being examined at the highest level and a decision is expected to be taken very shortly both on how far the Government of India will be prepared to go to meet the wishes of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly as well as on the issue of amending the Constitution.

Times of India

29th April 1951

Statesmen

2/7/52

provincial

Kashmir Constituent Body

SRINAGAR, April 28: Yuvraj Karan Singh of Kashmir, the Regent, has signed a proclamation convening the Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir State to be vested with the sovereign authority to ratify Kashmir's accession to India, it is reliably learnt.

The proclamation is expected to be announced on May 1 either from Srinagar or Jammu.

Besides deciding the present ruling dynasty's status in the State's future constitutional structure, the Constituent Assembly is also expected to tackle the question of compensation to landlords dispossessed under the recently enacted Jagirdari Abolition Act.—P.T.I.

NEED FOR PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

From Our Correspondent

JAMMU, June 29.—The newly formed Jammu and Kashmir People's Party which stands for full accession of Kashmir to India at a special meeting today unanimously adopted a resolution that for maintaining the unity and integrity of the Jammu and Kashmir State it was essential that there should be provincial autonomy for both Jammu and Kashmir provinces. That was the "only solution" to the present political and economic tangles so that both provinces might develop side by side and remain strong units of India.

Times of India
3/7/52

Statesman
2/7/52

Sheikh Abdullah's Move Opposed

PRAJA PARISHAD'S BOOKLET

From Our Own Correspondent

JAMMU, July 1: A booklet, entitled "Jammu Rejects a Separate Constitution for Jammu and Kashmir States," published and widely distributed here by the Praja Parishad states that "braved by Mr. Nehru's generosity and at definite foreign inspiration Sheikh Abdullah has through Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg, Chairman of the Basic Principles Committee, declared in the Constituent Assembly that the State will have a separate flag, a separate Constitution, and a separate judiciary. He claims this right of separation, by virtue of Article 30 of the Indian Constitution.

"The demand of the Praja Parishad is that this State should not be given any special preference, but should be treated on a par with other Part 'B' States in the Union. Many people of Jammu Province do not want a separate Constitution. They have shown it by boycotting the last elections to the Constituent Assembly. They have also demonstrated it by protest hartals and public meetings.

"The People of Jammu and Ladakh in particular, irrespective of caste and creed, and those of Kashmir State in general, are looking forward for union with India," the booklet concluded.

MINISTER'S TALKS IN JAMMU

From Our Correspondent

JAMMU, July 2.—Pandit Gir-dharilal Dogra, the Finance Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, who arrived here from Srinagar yesterday, is busy discussing with leading National Conference workers the situation arising out of the Praja Parishad's protest demonstrations against the recent decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly regarding the adoption of a new State flag and termination of hereditary rule. He is also expected to meet Pandit Premnath Dogra, President of the Praja Parishad, and the Communist leader, Mr. Dhanwantri, who is on deputation here from the Communist Party of India. Pandit Gir-dharilal Dogra is the son-in-law of Pandit Premnath Dogra.

Prospects of an understanding between the parties are strengthened by the assertion of some Parishad leaders that no struggle against the Kashmir Government would be launched.

Statesman
2/7/52

SPECIAL CONVENTION OF PRAJA PARISHAD

(From Our Correspondent)

JAMMU, June 30.—A special convention of the All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad will be held here in the third week of July next to chalk out a programme of action in view of recent developments in Jammu and Kashmir state. Invitations are also being issued to many Indian leaders. Meanwhile, a campaign has been started throughout the Jammu Province to get five lakh signatures in support of the memorandum recently submitted to President Rajendra Prasad.

Ladakh's New D. C.: Mr. J. Dechen, Income Tax Officer, Srinagar, has been appointed Deputy Commissioner of Ladakh. He is the first Ladakhi to hold such a responsible position in his home district.

H. Times sept. 18, 1953

HOUSE APPROVES GOVT. POLICY

Demand For Withdrawal Of Kashmir Issue From U.N.

By Our Special Correspondent

After a seven-and-half hour debate on Thursday the House of the People gave its approval to the foreign policy of the Government of India.

AN Opposition amendment regretting that the policy had failed to create conditions favourable for a just and democratic solution of the Kashmir issue outside the U. N. was rejected by a voice vote.

For the first time the Communist group found itself in agreement with the basic principles of the foreign policy of the Prime Minister. The Praja Socialist leader, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, also expressed the same view.

Acharya Kripalani recommended that greater stress be laid on the home front because 'if our home policies are strengthened nobody can insult us abroad.'

He suggested withdrawal of the Kashmir question from the security council or at least India's abstention when the Kashmir question would be discussed at the U. N. He felt that India's link with the Commonwealth was 'intangibly and subtly' influencing her foreign policy.

The Deputy leader of the Communist group, Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukherjee, agreed with Acharya Kripalani on these last two points. He wanted withdrawal of the U. N. observers from Kashmir and warned against contamination from the continuous contact with the imperialist forces who could not change their complexion and character. He wanted a more positive attitude towards peace.

Two members of the House from Jammu and Kashmir, Maulana Sayeed Mohammad Masoodi and Sri S. N. Fotedar, gave their own assessments of the developments in Kashmir.

Maulana Masoodi who is known to be a supporter of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah said that the former Premier was suffering from a sense of frustration because of the Jammu agitation. The idea of an independent Kashmir Valley was born out of this. Maulana Masoodi said that he had opposed the idea.

He held that this matter had not been placed either before the Working Committee of the National Conference or the Cabinet. Sheikh Abdullah had only a few of his lieutenants and there were people in Kashmir whose names were not known who had supported the move. He suggested an inquiry in the matter.

Sri Fotedar on the other hand contended that the idea was not new with Sheikh Abdullah. His Ranbir Singh speech which contained a similar suggestion was made before the Jammu agitation. He told the House that before he came to attend the present session of Parliament, Sheikh Abdullah had told him that an independent Srinagar valley was the only solution of the Kashmir question.

An independent member, Dr. Lanka Sundararaj, criticised the Government for putting at the disposal of the U. N. Indian troops for the statement of area even after the statement of U. S. Secretary of State, Col. 4)

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR KASHMIR WELCOMED

BAKSHI SUPPORTS DELHI DECISION

BRIGHT CHAPTER IN INDO-PAK AMITY

Future Decided Without Foreign Intervention

SRINAGAR, Aug. 21.

BAKSHI GHULAM MOHAMMED, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, said to-day that he welcomed the declaration of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in regard to the future disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the principle of self-determination.

"This declaration", he said in a statement, "was finalised on behalf of the Government of India with our concurrence and has our unqualified support".

Bakshi said that a happy feature of the joint declaration was that, for the first time, the future of Kashmir was sought to be decided without foreign intervention.

He hoped that the decisions of the two Prime Ministers would be implemented faithfully and the government and the people of Pakistan "will pursue pacific methods so as to help in the creation of a healthy atmosphere so essential for a peaceful settlement of all the disputes outstanding between the two countries and in particular of the Kashmir issue."

On the question of appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said that as soon as preliminary issues which had defied solution so far were dealt with amicably the Jammu and Kashmir Government would consider the question of formally appointing a Plebiscite Administrator and inducting him into office.

"We believe that for the discharge of the onerous responsibilities as a Plebiscite Administrator, a person of proven impartiality and merit, free from international controversies and commitments will be selected to hold this high office. We are glad that the sovereign right of the Jammu and Kashmir Government in this behalf has been preserved."

We endorse the appeal of the two Prime Ministers for the exercise of restraint and sobriety in all fields of governmental and public activity.

"On our part, we shall endeavour earnestly to eliminate controversies which may embitter the feelings between the people of the two countries."



NO ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN

SRINAGAR, Dec. 21.—The Kashmir Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, in an 'Id' broadcast from Radio Kashmir, tonight, reiterated his Government's resolve to improve speedily the economic condition of the people of Kashmir.

On the question of the future of the State, Bakshi welcomed the statement of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan issued in New Delhi "because there are bright prospects of solving the Kashmir problem in a peaceful manner."

Bakshi said, his Government was aware that the people of the State were unable to enjoy even

Will Kashmir Issue Be Withdrawn From U.N.?

(From Our Special Correspondent)

JULLUNDUR, Aug. 21.—People of Jullundur have generally welcomed the joint communique issued in New Delhi last night by Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. This declaration is regarded as a step further towards establishment of cordial and friendly relations between India and Pakistan although it does not contain anything that might be called "sensational" or which might affect the people of Jammu and Kashmir State.

Mohd. Ali's Personal Victory

The communique is considered in local political circles as personal victory for Mr. Mohd. Ali, who might be able to run the Government of his country in a peaceful atmosphere at least for some time to come.

An analysis of the joint communique, made by these circles, shows that India had not lost anything in having talks with the Pakistan leader. On the other hand she has definitely gained something—at least friendship of a man, who has described Mr. Nehru as his "elder brother" and whom India has saved from an internal crisis. In addition Delhi talks are regarded as indirect withdrawal of Kashmir issue from U.N.O., of course with the consent of both the parties concerned.

The decision to appoint a Plebiscite Administrator by April, 1954 further substantiates this view. Not only this, the forthcoming Indo-Pak talks on evacuee property issue and other disputes, will be held in a befitting atmosphere. Great emphasis is, however, being laid on peaceful and friendly approach for the solution of all problems pending between the two countries and it is genuinely hoped that relations between the two countries will develop in a peaceful atmosphere.

Sadiq Happy Over Agreement

BOMBAY, Aug. 1.—The President of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, Mr. G.M. Sadiq, said here to-day that the people of Kashmir would, on the whole, feel happy over the latest Nehru-Mohammed Ali agreement on Kashmir, essentially because the agreement was vindication of the stand taken by them.

Mr. Sadiq arrived

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ABDULLAH'S LAND REFORMS SCANDAL

Potent Factor In Sheikh's Dismissal

LONDON, Sept. 11.—"It was believed in Delhi that the land reforms carried out by Sheikh Abdullah were laying a solid foundation of rural prosperity, and that the connection with India was increasingly buttressed by improved living standards; this belief has now suffered a severe shock with the belated publication of the Kashmir report of the committee presided over by the Minister of Justice", says "The Times".

It adds: "So awkward were the findings of the committee from the point of view of the then Government that they were quietly pigeon-holed."

"They have now been resurrected and go far to provide an explanation of the background of economic discontent which made the suppression of Sheikh Abdullah inevitable."

"Whatever may have been the achievements of the late Prime Minister as a political leader, the malversation which his preoccupation with international questions permitted his subordinates to practise seems to have been most grave."

"Not only has the re-distribution of land resulting from the legal limitation of holdings been used so that the rich peasants have grown richer and the poor poorer but, in addition, the compulsory procurement of rice, at prices fixed by the State, has become a fearful instrument of oppression."

"The grim picture painted by the Wazir Committee of the failure of Sheikh Abdullah's loudly proclaimed reforms to improve the lot of the down-trodden Kashmiri peasantry is significant because it explained the ease with which his regime was overthrown and the recent trend of the people of the valley—noted by several impartial observers—to turn against the connection with India for which, in spite of occasional vagaries, he always stood".—NAFEN.

It is highly important that considerations of the structure of the state must be related to its social and economic policies.

Elimination Of Foreign Interference

"While we are engaged in the task of reconstructing our national economy, the process of settling various preliminary issues which have defied solution so far will go on side by side, without casting a shadow of doubt and uncertainty on our minds and without standing in the way of rebuilding the life of our people. The elimination of foreign interference and the presence of goodwill and co-operative spirit, of which there is abundant evidence in the statement of the two Prime Ministers, will, in our opinion, lead to a successful and amicable settlement of these issues. As soon as these matters of dispute are dealt with amicably, the Jammu and Kashmir Government will consider the question of formally appointing a plebiscite administrator and inducing him into office."

"We believe that for the discharge of the onerous responsibilities as a plebiscite administrator."

BAKSH DELHI

(Continued From Page 1)
sequently, interested powers had been putting seemingly tempting offers which would have involved directly in a violent international conflict.

"It has to be realized that an important factor in the about a propitious atmosphere for the peaceful negotiations between the two Prime Ministers has been provided by the unequal stand taken by the present Government and the leadership of the state. The recent vacillations in policy and outlook on some sections of the people of Kashmir which had reached peak at the time of the meeting of the two Prime Ministers in Karachi had added to the confusion in the realistic appraisal of the issues involved. The ground has now been cleared—and there is no room left for doubt and vacillation about the objective and the method of achieving it."

Pakistan Abandons Old Methods
"I am glad to note that Pakistan has shown its willingness to abandon the old methods of coercion and intimidation. During the recent weeks, hysterical cries of war and violence have been raised among certain quarters in Pakistan. It must be realized once for all that the solution cannot be brought about by such threats. "I now hope that the decisions of the two Prime Ministers will be implemented faithfully and the government and the people of Pakistan will pursue pacific methods so as to help in the creation of a healthy atmosphere so essential for a peaceful settlement of all the disputes outstanding between the two countries and in particular of the Kashmir issue."

Misgivings Dispelled

"It is heartening to note that the two Prime Ministers have finally dispelled the grave misgivings regarding dis-memberment of the state which were disturbing many people here. Of late, proposals about unnatural partition of Jammu and Kashmir State had been mooted by responsible quarters here and abroad and consequently the memory of the grim events of 1947 was haunting the people in all parts of the state. I am happy that it has been recognised that the unity of the people of Jammu and Kashmir should not be disrupted in any way."

New Opportunities

"Now that we have succeeded in securing our right of self-determination, we can hopefully look forward to more peace."

Kashmir Premier In Delhi

HIGH-LEVEL TALKS WITH NEHRU

By Our Special Correspondent

High-level talks on the latest affairs in the Jammu and Kashmir State with particular reference to the agreements reached at the conference of the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan for solution of the Kashmir problem, are believed to have been held between the Kashmir Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and the Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi on Monday.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad who was in Jammu on Sunday, is now in the Capital on a flying visit. He is expected to return to Srinagar on Tuesday.

Ways and means of implementing the economic programme of the new Ministry in the State are also believed to have been discussed by the Kashmir Premier with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru.

He also had talks with some Cabinet Ministers including Maulana Azad, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

The General Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Maulana Masood Ali, who returned to New Delhi on Monday also had talks with the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. The issues, leading to great human tragedies. The difficulties of the situation should not lead anyone to discover sympathy from any interested foreign powers.

"At this critical state nothing should be done which will impair the creation of an atmosphere of goodwill and orderliness. We must beware of many elements here and abroad who are feeling frustrated at the happy turn of events. Such elements are determined to create commotions and conflicts in order to disrupt the unity of the people. All such anti-social sections should be thoroughly exposed as enemies of peace and democracy."

Growing Friendship

"We eagerly look forward to a period of growing friendship and amity between the people of India and Pakistan. There are urgent problems affecting the lives of the common people in both the countries which require immediate attention. It is on the basis of goodwill, mutual help and co-operation that these vital problems can be tackled successfully. No efforts should, therefore, be spared to bring the two countries closer to each other. The people of Jammu and Kashmir fully realise the importance of their role in bringing about peace and goodwill in the sub-continent."

"I endorse the appeal of the two Prime Ministers for the exercise of restraint and sobriety in all fields of governmental and public activity. On our part, we shall endeavour earnestly to eliminate controversies which may embitter the feelings between the peoples of India and Pakistan."

"I am sure that in this patriotic task every citizen of Kashmir will conduct himself with a sense of dignity and responsibility and contribute towards the establishment of everlasting friendship between the two countries."

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Independent Kashmir Not A Feasible Proposition

THREE-PARTY PLEA AT DELHI SYMPOSIUM

By A Staff Reporter

A LARGE measure of agreement between various political parties on the Kashmir issue was reflected on Wednesday in the speeches of Mr. P. Sundarayya, leader of the Communist Party in the Council of States; Mr. Mauli Chandra Sharma, acting President of the All-India Jan Sangh; and Mr. Damodaran Menon, of the Praja Socialist Party.

Speaking at a symposium at the Hindu College on "Kashmir and its Future," these leaders unanimously expressed the opinion that an independent Kashmir as visualised by Sheikh Abdullah was not a feasible proposition; in fact the proposal was fraught with dangerous consequences. They were also agreed that Kashmir had become a test case for India's policy of secularism and democracy and as such it must remain a part of the Indian Union.

Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi, General Secretary of the National Conference, who initiated the discussion, was in the minority of one in defending Sheikh Abdullah's stand. He characterised his dismissal from Prime Ministership and subsequent arrest as a conspiracy between some of his erstwhile colleagues in the Cabinet and the "authorities in Srinagar."

PARTIES TO DISPUTE

Maulana Masoodi opened his case with a definite statement that the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah was the result of a tussle between two persons in the High Command of the National Conference. According to him, the main parties to the dispute were Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Kashmir, and Mirza Afzal Beg, now in detention, and the Sheikh was merely a victim of his failure to maintain a balance between the two. As General Secretary of the National Conference, he was not aware of any proof to support the contention that Sheikh Abdullah's move for an independent Kashmir was inspired by foreigners.

Maulana Masoodi cited the example of the North-West Frontier Province in support of Sheikh Abdullah's demand. He felt convinced that the N.-W.F.P. would never have gone to Pakistan if it had the choice to be independent. If the Sheikh entertained doubts about the people of Kashmir voting for accession to India, he did not want to join Pakistan, he was fully justified in thinking of a third way out of the dilemma. In any event, Sheikh Abdullah should have dismissed only after an election of want of confidence.

him by the Working Committee and General Council of the National Conference and the Constituent Assembly, which were due to meet shortly.

DEVELOPMENTS REVIEWED

Reviewing the developments in Kashmir over the last six years, Maulana Masoodi once again asserted that the Kashmiri people had not had time to dispassionately think about their future and he blamed the Jammu Praja Parishad agitation for complete merger with India as being responsible for encouraging pro-Pakistan elements in the Valley.

lished by Mr. Sundarayya and the following two speakers.

Mr. Sundarayya argued that an independent Kashmir could be feasible only if both India and Pakistan guaranteed its security. It was clear that Pakistan would not honour any such commitment and it was impossible for India to guarantee Kashmir's security against Pakistan if her forces were once withdrawn. Further, neither India nor Pakistan would be willing to provide the necessary financial assistance for the State's development. In that event she would have to depend on the U.S., which would in return seek to establish war bases there. An independent Kashmir would, therefore, become a threat to world peace.

Mr. Sundarayya said that the tribal raid on Kashmir in 1947 was inspired and planned by British officers of the Pakistan Army; it was in continuation of their policy of dividing India on a religious basis. In that context it was an extraordinary step for the Indian Government to refer the matter to the United Nations, where interested parties had worked for accentuating the differences between India and Pakistan. He was clearly of the opinion that the U.S. had tempted Sheikh Abdullah into advocating the establishment of an independent Kashmir.

PAK APPEAL

Mr. Sundarayya said that though Pakistan's appeal to the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim majority in Kashmir was having its effect, India must see that the State remained a part of India. India, he said, should seek to retain Kashmir not because she was keen to grab a piece of territory, but because that was the only way to strengthen the forces of democracy and secularism in India and Kashmir. Kashmir had become a test case and "every effort must be made to wean the people away from religious fanaticism."

Mr. Mauli Chandra Sharma's speech, which was remarkable for its frankness and lucidity, dealt with the larger issue of Indo-Pakistan relations. The Jan Sangh leader said that friendly relations could not be established between secular India and theocratic Pakistan as long as the latter did not cease to discriminate against the followers of faiths other than Islam in that country.

He strongly criticised the policy that Mr. Nehru had followed in Kashmir since 1947. He said that it was wrong to offer to hold a plebiscite when the Maharaja had

executed the instrument of accession and the main political party had supported it. He asserted that Kashmir was an integral part of India and its accession, as Mr. Nehru himself had said several times, was complete and final. Further it was wrong to refer the issue to the U.N. in view of India's past experience of the British policy of "Divide and Rule." It was extraordinary to agree to a ceasefire when the Indian Army had almost cleared the State of the raiders and the Pakistani forces were on the run.

Mr. Sharma characterised the incorporation of Article 370 in the Constitution as a "special status on Kashmir, as a concession."

MAJOR TASK BE GHULAM MOH.

From Our Staff Correspondent
SRINAGAR, SEPT. 5.—One of the of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, in his capacity as President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, to revitalise the organisation and make it an instrument for translating his Government's economic programme into reality.

This organisation, with a record of heroic struggle to its credit, has fallen into unhealthy slumber because, almost the whole of its workers' enthusiasm has evaporated—perhaps more quickly than it had come due to unsound leadership during the past few years. The new President is determined to give it a thorough shake-up—an uphill task, no doubt—and hope is expressed here that before long the National Conference will regain its dynamism and fulfil the promises it has held out to the people.

Already, like an asthma patient, the National Conference received a severe set-back with the rift in its leadership and the air became clotted with hate and suspicion. The two opposing pulls tore the organisation into two and there was confusion among its members. The smaller section led by Sheikh Abdullah acquired sympathies of pro-Pakistan elements and the larger section led by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed stood by its commitments with regard to the State's accession to India.

CLASH OF INTERESTS

The clash of interests had reached its peak at the time of Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal, when the pro-Bakshi elements scored a decisive victory over their rivals. What led to the deplorable state of affairs within this largest political party in the State during the past few years is an interesting story which has tragic poignancy. It is to be admitted that since 1947 the National Conference had built itself into a very strong organisation. Its branches had been set up all over the State, even in the farflung, nearly inaccessible areas of Ladakh and Kargil. Being the party in power, most of the branch offices had been converted into community listening posts also. A party communique over Radio Kashmir was announced to the public through the listening posts all over the State in a few seconds. Other political parties very much coveted this. One would, therefore, be inclined to believe that during the last five years of the so-called popular regime the National Conference must have achieved crescent popularity. It will be entirely wrong to arrive at such a conclusion—the National Conference leaders themselves admit this.

When the National Conference leadership took over the administration, blood had been shed fresh and hatred against the Maharaja and Pakistani aggressor had mounted to great heights. The possibility of running the administration during those treacherous days and afterwards was a major task. The Conference worker put his shoulder to the wheel, passionately got stuck up in the matter. After five years of the popular Government they found that the harvest was by no means rich. The party suffered in prestige and popularity and the Government paid no attention to its activities. The radio-sets installed at the party offices sang, with one voice, the praises of "New India" and the workers' movement.

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insible for encouraging pro-
Pakistan elements in the Valley.
He concluded his speech with a
plea for the release of Sheikh
Abdullah since, according to him,
his detention would continue to
poison relations between India
and Kashmir. Further it was a
dangerous precedent to arrest a
State Chief Minister merely be-
cause he held certain views.

Maulana Masoodi's case for an
independent Kashmir was demo-

corporation of Article 370 in the
Constitution, conferring special
status on Kashmir, as a concession
to the two-nation theory. The Prime
Minister ignored the warning con-
tained in the statement that Sheikh
Abdullah had made at a press con-
ference in Paris on his way back
from New York where he had gone
to attend the United Nations Gen-
eral Assembly session. The Sheikh
had then clearly stated that he
was thinking of an independent
Kashmir.

He warned that the future of
Indian Muslims and East Bengal
Hindus would become precarious if
India lost Kashmir. India should
spare no efforts to retain the State
since its loss would have grave re-
percussions.

He charged Mr. Stevenson with
having revived the move for an
independent Kashmir, which was
tantamount to making a gift of the
State to Pakistan. If Kashmir
could prove to be a graveyard of
the two-nation theory, then it might
pave the way for an ultimate unity
of India and Pakistan. According
to him, the fact that India had
two Governments, one at New Delhi
and the other at Karachi, did not
mean that Indians had become two
nations. In the past, he said, there
used to be many more governments
in the sub-continent.

Mr. Damodaran Menon
for a realistic approach to the
whole problem. He steered clear
of controversies, such as the pro-
priety of referring the issue to the
U.N. and the arrest of Sheikh
Abdullah. He pleaded for national
unity on the basis of Kashmir's
limited accession to India on
three subjects and the Delhi
Agreement. He said that the Kash-
miri people must have the fullest
measure of internal autonomy. He
also opposed the demand for
independence.

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State Accepts Advice

ABDULLAH TO JOIN TALKS

Special To DELHI EXPRESS

ACCORDING TO LOBBY REPORTS, DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, THE VICE-PRESIDENT, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE AMONG KASHMIR LEADERS.

Dr Radhakrishnan is on a private holiday in Kashmir. His friendly intervention and advice is believed to have influenced Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah's decision to visit New Delhi for talks with the Government of India.

Vital talks over the State Constituent Assembly's decision to do away with monarchy in Jammu and Kashmir are scheduled to start in New Delhi shortly.

While Sheikh Abdullah is expected to arrive on Thursday evening, other members of the Kashmir delegation are already in the capital. They had informal talks with some of the Ministers on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, Mr. Nehru is reported to have explained at length the State position regarding Kashmir at an informal meeting of selected Members of Parliament representing the Congress Party and Opposition groups.

Dr. S. P. Mookerji had to leave Delhi but Mr. Nehru had a talk with him before his departure.

Among those invited were: Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. S. Das and Mr. Kelappan, Mr. Jaipal Singh, Dr. Lanka Sundaram and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Our Srinagar correspondent adds: Official circles in Srinagar are hopeful of the New Delhi talks on Kashmir affairs ending amicably.

expectation

Cottage Industries Scheme For Bihar

PLAN TO TACKLE UNEMPLOYMENT

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT]
PATNA, Sept. 16.—The Bihar Government has drawn up a plan on the lines of the famous Visveswarayya scheme for rural industrialization in order to tackle the problem of growing unemployment in the State.

Under the new plan the Government is to open a technological institute in each of the four divisions of the State with Gulzarbagh Cottage Industries Institute as the central organization in the network. The four institutes will impart training in ten different trades such as weaving, dying, printing, wood work, lacquer work, stone cutting and pottery and toy making.

The scheme envisages to cover the entire State by making about 30 demonstration parties tour the interior and impart training to villagers. The choice of trade in which villagers will be trained will depend upon the prospects the place can offer for the development of a particular trade.

Lastly the Patna Commercial Museum will also be reorganized under the scheme so as to provide facilities for marketing the products turned out by these cottage industries.

More than a thousand villages in Chhota Nagpur area have already been surveyed to locate suitable sites for the different cottage industries proposed to be started under the new plan.

PLEA TO RECOGNIZE LICENTIATES

LUCKNOW, Sept. 16.—Medical licentiates of Lucknow at a meeting held recently passed a resolution demanding that the Indian Medical Council should recognize 30,000 licentiates in medicine and surgery in the country. The Council, the resolution said, had recognized foreign-qualified licentiates in medicine and surgery.

By another resolution the meeting demanded that an all-India register should be maintained by the Council or any other body for the registration of medical graduates and licentiates.—P.T.I.

SHANKERRAO DEO TAKEN ILL

WARDHA, Sept. 16.—Mr. Shankarrao I., Secretary of the All-India Seva Sangh, has cancelled his phodan walk tour of U.P., which he was due to begin from Agra today, on account of sudden illness. He is under treatment at the Kasturba Hospital, Sevagram. Mr. Deo, however, proposes to tour Punjab from October 2, according to his original programme.—P.T.I.

Inside Pakistan

Continued from page 7 col. 8

he would certainly be entitled to the gratitude not merely of the people of Pakistan but the people of the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

QUITE a storm in a tea cup is raging over the removal of Mr. Justice Z. H. Lari of the Sind Chief Court from the Custodianship of Evacuee Property. While there is a great deal of excitement, there is very little of authentic information about the reason for his removal, especially as the Government have not so far explained why they took such a step. At his Press conference, the Prime Minister refused to discuss the matter as it was a purely administrative action. Still, interested parties are speaking as though Government could be forced to reverse their decision. Describing the affair as "Shocking and Shabby," The Times of Karachi gives two reasons for the removal of the Chief Justice. First, the Chief Justice

singing of
in full war-paint, Na
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MANY ANOMALIES IN WORKING OF LAND REFORM

From Our Special Representative in Kashmir
SRINAGAR, Aug 19.—One need not go far from Srinagar to realize that the peasantry as a whole have suffered from the one-party rule of the last six years.

There was a time when the National Conference, being in Opposition, kept watch on the conduct of local officials. Aggrieved people found sympathetic ears at local party headquarters, where party members eagerly sought to help them in their difficulties. This provided a fairly effective check on petty officials.

Experience has shown that what was intended to be a free conferment of land on the tiller has usually involved him in great expense and, if the money has not passed into the State Treasury, the distributing agencies as well as some of the landlords have become richer, as proprietors always selected the best land for their own use; tillers had to pay the cost of the land to secure its exclusion from the proprietor's unit.

Rural indebtedness has been practically wiped out, excellent in itself, but it has also erased the sources of rural credit. The Government has not yet provided a substitute for the village moneylender. The Wazir Committee is understood to have received pathetic complaints from agriculturists who, having spent all their resources in acquiring land which they were supposed to receive free, are now in distress, having little money to run their farms. Land reforms in some places, it appears, have proved not a blessing but a bane.

Now, officials are party members or wield such effective local authority as to be indistinguishable from them. The system provides an excellent example of the consequences which flow from a Government of, by and for one party. There is none to whom the people can turn for guidance or relief. This explains why such potentially beneficial measures as "land to the tiller" without compensation, co-operative societies and controls have aroused little enthusiasm and have, in fact, contributed to lowering the people's standard of living. The advantages which the Government wished to confer on the people have been vitiated by the activities of incompetent and, in many cases, dishonest officers acting under the influence of, and in concert with local party bosses.

THE LANDLESS TILLER

In many instances the landless tiller has not received his dues. The Wazir Committee report is stated to have recorded the impression that in Jammu province the escheated lands had not been fairly distributed by the revenue authorities and that only influential party men had succeeded in getting them. The complaint is widely heard that landless people, who belong to a backward and poor class, were ignored, and that corruption was widespread in implementing land reforms in different parts of the State.

Nor has land distribution been carried out on a scientific or rational basis. Under the law the proprietor can retain 182 kanals while the tiller is permitted ownership of 160 kanals irrespective of whether the land is irrigated or not.



It of the Indian Union, who Kashmir took the opportunity in the Valley. Here he is Lt.-Col. Rai, who was the defence of Kashmir against October 1947. Lt.-Col. Rai the Vir Chakra for gallantry.

ANGE



Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, recently on a holiday in Kashmir, many places of interest, the memorial to the late Indian Army officer to fall in during the fateful days of the awarding of the Vir Chakra in the field. Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu

Hindu

direct
JRSDAY, SEPT. 17, 1953

THE KASHMIR CONVENTION

By a unanimous vote the Kashmir National Conference Convention has affirmed full confidence in the Government of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and the policies and principles for which they stand. The fact that the resolution was sponsored by 2 members of the 75-member Constituent Assembly, by as many as 80 out of the 110 members of the General Council of the Conference and a members of its is sufficient of the the

Kashmir Talks Open In Delhi

From Our Own Correspondent
NEW DELHI, July 3.—Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, will decide about the date of his Delhi visit tomorrow on receipt of the outcome of today's conference held between the advance Kashmir delegation and representatives of the Government of India.

Today's meeting was the first regular conference which was attended by all representatives of both governments. On behalf of India, Mr. Nehru, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and K. N. Katju participated, and Kashmir's delegation consisted of Mirza Afzal Baig, Mr. D. P. Dhar, Mir Kasim and some constitutional experts.

- تنقید وار -

صا نر جریہ
ہوں

8th April 1940

۸ اپریل ۱۹۴۰

ہفتہ وار
پریس بریفنگ

۱۔ جموں میں پولیٹیکل کانفرنس

انٹرنیشنل کانگریس کی پراپیگنڈا جموں کا کانگریس
آپ عظیم الشان پولیٹیکل کانفرنس کا انعقاد عمل
میں لاپرواہ ہے۔ بڑے بڑے نامور کانگریسی
لیڈروں کو مدعو کیا گیا ہے۔ خیال کیا جاتا ہے
کہ یہ کانفرنس اپنے شان و شوکت سے متفرد ہوگی۔

شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی سرگرمیاں۔

جموں۔ ایکٹو آل جموں ڈسٹرکٹ کانفرنس
کے صدر شیخ محمد عبداللہ صاحب جموں تشریف
فرمائیں۔ آپ اس امر کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں کہ
مسلم جمہورانہ اسمبلی کے ذریعہ ان کے علاقہ جات
میں کنٹریول کانفرنس کی حاشا خیز قائم کراہیں۔

ہر سال 30 نئے پرائمری سکول کھولے جایا کریں۔

ہفتہ وار

حیاتِ جون

۲۲ اپریل ۱۹۴۵ء

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(Page 5) Editorial - الوناع

ریاست کشمیر کی مجلس آئین ساز کے دوسرے دور کا چوتھا اجلاس جن جوش و فروشا اور ننگامہ آراء یوں کے ساتھ شروع ہوا تھا۔ ان کے بلکل ہلکی اور مدہم سی دھیمپوں کی غماش کے بعد وقت مقررہ سے دو روز پہلے ختم ہو چکا ہے۔ اور آج سے عہدِ چھ ماہ بعد سری نگر میں شروع ہوگا۔ یہ بجٹ سیشن کے نام سے مشہور ہے۔ جس میں سالانہ میزانیہ پیش ہو کر رعایا کے آئندہ سال کی قسمتوں پر دولت کی تقسیم پر بحث و بحثیں کی جاتی ہے جس سر زمین کے باشندوں کے سیاسی فکر و تردیدیں آزاد اسمبلی یا ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کا تصور رقص کر رہا ہے۔ جو اپنے اوپر حکومت کرنی کی آرزوؤں کو پروان چڑھتے دیکھنے کی منتفی ہوں اور جس آنکھ میں حوالہ حکومت کے حصول کی منتیں سمائی ہوں وہ موجودہ اسمبلی کے وقایف و اختیارات کے بے بسی سے کوئی بہتری تمنا ہی ہو سکتی ہے یہ کوئی افسانوی تخیل نہیں ہے اور نہ ہی کسی قسم کی سیاسی بڑبڑ بلکہ حقایق و شواہد پیکردوں میں مستور اصلیت ہے۔

آپ ذرا غفٹ ڈالے دل سے غور فرمائیں کہ موجودہ اسمبلی میں پیپک نمائندگان خواہ کتنے ہی مجاہدانہ اور قوم پرستانہ جذبات کھڑے حقایق کی بنا پر ظاہر کریں جب تک انہیں گورنمنٹ کی حمایت حاصل نہ ہو۔ کامیابی کے نزدیک نہیں پہنچ سکیں۔ گزشتہ اجلاس کی کاروائی پر اجمالی نظر ڈالنے سے آپ جو کچھ دیکھ سکتے ہیں وہ وہی کچھ ہے جو گزشتہ کئی سالوں میں دیکھنے میں آئے ہیں۔ جہاں تک گورنمنٹ کے پیش کردہ کام کا تعلق ہے وہ تو اکثریت ہندوئی سے منظور ہو ہی جاتے ہیں کیونکہ گورنمنٹ مخالفت کا بیڑہ اٹھاتے وقت نامزدگی ذیلیاری۔

یا رنجشیری شب - نبرداری اور جاگیرداری کے مفادات کے بعد دیکھنے
 آنکھوں کے سامنے گذر نہ شروع ہو جاتے ہیں۔ یہی نہیں بلکہ وہ لوگ
 جو پبلک کے مخالف رہے بن کر اس دو ٹوں کے بل بوتے پر بھرپور جاتے
 ہیں وہ بھی اثرورسوخ اور بعض ذاتی مصالح کے پیش نظر جان و مال
 کے ساتھ چھوڑ کر سرکاری آراءؤں کے شکر میں سما جاتے ہیں۔ یہی
 وجہ ہے کہ جس چیز کو گورنمنٹ بیچ منظور کرنا چاہیں وہ منظور
 ہو جاتی ہے۔ اسی اجلاس میں ترتیب قصہ جات کا بل پیش کیا گیا
 اور کامیابی کی حد تک پہنچ گیا۔ قانون مردم شماری منظور ہو گیا۔ قانون
 ایریا میٹری کے صدر سرکار اور غیر سرکاری ہونے پر بحث و تمحیص ہوئی۔ تو
 سرکاری صدر کے لئے اکثریت نے فیصلہ کر دیا اور تریا ایکٹ کے
 خلاف لا کو پبلک نمائندگان تقریریں کر رہے تھے وہ گورنمنٹ کی طرف
 سے پیش کیا گیا تھا اس سے وہ زیر بحث لائے ہوئے سلیکٹ کمیٹی کے سپرد
 کر دیا گیا۔ اکتوس تو ان نمائندگان پر ہے جو زمینداروں اور کسانوں
 کے ووٹوں پر اسمبلی کی کرسی پر براجمان ہو چکے ہوئے ہیں اور اس
 ایکٹ کی مخالفت میں انہوں نے اپنے لبوں کو قبضہ میں رکھ لیا۔
 اور یہ دیکھتے شراب بھرتی کے معاملہ میں بھی حکومت کا
 کوئی بلٹراحمادی رہا۔ اسے حالات میں موجودہ اسمبلی کے متعلق
 جو شے زیادہ نفاذ عوام کا ہے۔ اسے غلط قرار نہیں دیا جاسکتا۔
 ہر کیف یہ اعلان تو الوداع ہو چکا ہے وہ دوست و اہل
 جو ریاست کے مختلف علاقہ جات سے تشریف لا کر جوں
 کی روٹی کو چند دنوں تک گرماتے رہے ہیں۔ ہم سے الوداع
 ہو رہے ہیں اور اپنے اپنے علاقوں میں جا کر گھومنا تک کا رہنما
 میں مصروف ہو جائیں گے۔ لیکن کیا انہوں نے یہ بھی سوچا ہے
 کہ ان کے کندھوں پر بزار یا انسانوں کی ترجہانی کا لوجھ ہے اور وہ
 مقدس امانت ان کے سپرد کی گئی ہے ہوئی ہے اور جو جدت
 و عقیدت ان لوگوں سے وابستہ ہیں ان کا اترام کرنے
 کے لئے ذاتی مفاد کو قربان کر دینا چاہیے۔ اور آئندہ جب
 وہ اسمبلی کے اجلاس میں شمولیت فرمائیں تو اپنی متفقہ طور
 پر اس کاروائی کی حمایت کرنا چاہیے۔ جو ملک کی بہتری کا پہلو
 لئے ہوں۔ اور ہر اس مخالفت میں اپنی آزاد فیالی کی نمائش

کرنا چاہئے جو بیک پر سختی نظر آئے۔

انجیلی کے اجلاسوں میں جہاں تک گزشتہ تاریخ کا تعلق ہے کوئی نہ کوئی ایسی بات ضرور عمل میں آتی رہی ہے جو کاروائی کا اہم ترین حق سمجھا جائے۔ اس دفعہ میں ڈپٹی پریذیڈنٹ کی صدارت میں ایک واک اوٹ ہوا تھا۔ جس نے انجیلی کے گزشتہ اجلاسوں کی یاد کو تازہ کر دیا تھا۔ ہم یہ پر گز نہیں کہتے کہ سبک نمائندگان ٹورمنٹ کی پر ایک تجویز کی مخالفت ہی میں قدم اٹھائیں۔ مدعا صرف یہ ہے کہ ایسی اینجیلیوں اور سبک کے سفادنی کی نگہداشت کے طرف زیادہ توجہ کرنا چاہیے۔ یعنی ان کا نصب العین بہتر سمجھا جاسکتا ہے۔

چونکہ آئندہ اجلاس میں نیز انہی پیش ہوگا اور مفہور ہمارا ہم نے اس بات کی اعازت دے رہی ہے کہ کھٹ کے کسی مد میں ترسم و نیزہ رکس تو عوام کے نمائندگان کے زین موقع ہے کہ وہ رفاعام کے کاموں کے لئے زیادہ سے زیادہ زوسہ بھٹ میں ظاہر کروا کر غریبوں کے نیک دوائیں لیں۔

Page 9, ۲۲ اپریل - کشمیر نیشنل کالفرس

اسلامیان ریاست جموں و کشمیر کی واحد نمائندہ جماعت مسلم کالفرس نے ایسا نصب العین ذمہ دار نظام حکومت قرار دے رکھا تھا۔ ظاہر ہے کہ یہ ایسا مطالبہ ہے جو کسی خاص فرقہ کی تنہا کوششوں سے پیروان نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس لئے صلہ ترقہ جات ریاست کی فلاح و بہبود کے لئے اور انہیں یکجہتی فیال و اتحاد و اتفاق کی برکتوں سے بکند کرتے ہوئے ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کے اصول کا اہل بنانے کے واسطے تھا خداوندان مسلم کالفرس نے یہ ضروری فیال لیا کہ مسلم کالفرس کا نام نیشنل میں تبدیل کر دیا جائے۔ نیشنل کالفرس کی تاریخیات ۱۹۳۹ میں بمقام سہی ندر میں رکھی گئی۔

اس انجمن کے پہلے صدر شیخ محمد عبداللہ صاحب الیم الہی سی ہیں۔ اس جماعت کے میں ملک کے بہترین سیاستدان شامل ہو چکے ہیں۔ مثلاً ہندوت پریم ناتھ بزار۔ ہندوت

بیالال کلم - پنڈت کشپ سڈھو - سردار بدھ سنگھ صاحب - لاکھ
گردھاری لعل انند - لالہ ملک راج مراف وغیرہ وغیرہ مسلم اصحاب
میں سے اس انجمن کے محررین تھے ہیں - نیشنل انڈیا کی ترقی اور اس
کے اغراض و مقاصد کی وسیع نشر و اشاعت کے لئے سرنگر مجاہد منزل
میں اس کا دفتر کام کرتا ہے - اس کے صدر ریاست بیرون ریاست
میں قوم پرستی کے لئے ذہنوت تقاریر دیتے ہیں - بعض مسلم زعماء
اس انجمن سے علیحدگی اختیار کرنا چاہتے ہیں - نیشنل کالفرنس
کی داغ بیل ڈالی جی نہ گئی تھی کہ ایک تحریک ذمہ دار حکومت کے
لئے چل نکلی تھی جس میں ہندو مسلمان - سکھ و سنیوں نے حصہ
لیتے ہوئے اپنے تئیں جیل خانوں کی صعوبتوں میں ڈال دیا تھا - قوم پرستی
میں الحال مدھم آوازوں کے ساتھ کام کر رہی ہے - اگر اس کے مانیات
نے استقلال اور یا مردی کو ہاتھ سے نہ جانے دیا اور صمیم قوم پرستی
کے لئے اپنی تمام تر کوششیں صرف کر دیں تو یقین ہے کہ ریاست میں
انڈین نیشنل کانگریس کی طرح نیشنل کانگریس بھی مقبول
عام ہو جائے گی -

Page 3 - 13 مئی 1940 - کانگریس کمیٹی کی جگہ

ہندو سکھ لوہان سماج (ٹو مٹانا کے بھٹوں اور کرشی بھوان
کے پرستاروں نے ٹو مٹانا کے رشتائے لئے ہندو لوہانوں نے ایک ہندو سکھ
جماعت 1994 میں تمام کی جس نے بعد میں ٹو مٹانا کی ٹینشن کی - (Ref. Page 9 of 6 May, 1940)
سے ہندو سکھ نے ہندو لوہانوں نے ریاست کے بابہ گنت جیوں
شہر میں ایک کمیٹی 1936 میں قائم کی اور اس میں شمولیات کے لئے
بلا لحاظ مذہب و ملت و فرقہ ہندو - مسلم سکھ عیسائی کو
دعوت دی - اس کا الحاق آل انڈیا کانگریس کمیٹی سے کیا - کانگریس
کمیٹی جوں جوں اپنی ابتدائی مراحل میں تھی کہ مونسپل انکسٹن میں
حمران کو اپنی ٹکٹ پر کھڑا کر کے جلوس اور جلسوں میں پنجاب
کے نام و زور کانگریسی مدعو کر کے وہ شاندار تقریری پرانیڈہ
لیا کہ شہر میں اس سے پہلے اتنی اہمیت کے موقع پر ایسی
معلق رکھی تھی ایسی ہی - لیکن وائے جمہوری فکر بھی

ان کی اس ہمت پر آفریں ہے -

کانگریس لیٹی کے موجودہ صدر چوہدری نور حسین ایم۔
اے۔ ایل۔ ایل۔ بی وکیل ہیں جو کہ اپنے رفقاءے کار سمیت اس کمیٹی کے
جلانے میں سرگرمی سے کوشاں ہیں۔ مواری ~~اور~~ ارادہ کے
نیرایہ شخص بلا لحاظ مذہب و ملت اس کا تجربہ بن سکتا ہے
کچھ دنوں کانگریس لیٹی کے زیر انتظام ایک عالی شان
جلسہ یونیٹل کانفرنس کے نام سے سوا جی میں قابل ذکر ریفرنس
ذمہ دار نظام حکومت پیش کیا گیا ہے۔ اور اس پر عمل پیرا
یونا عوام کی انریشیت کے تعاون پر منحصر ہے۔

Page : 3

20th, May, 1940

اقلیتوں کے حقوق کی حفاظت کیلئے مشترکہ انتخابات کا
مطالبہ۔ ہندو سکھ نوجوان سبھا کے تیسرے سالانہ اجلاس
کی کارروائی -

اودھم پور 19 مئی - ہندو سکھ نوجوان سبھا جو کہ مشترکہ
اجلاس لادہ گوپال داس جی مینگلی کی صدارت میں صدر نے اپنی صدارتی
ایڈرس میں فرمایا کہ ریاست میں بھارتی حکومت قائم کرنے کے لئے ہندو
سکھ کا مکمل اتحاد از بس ضروری ہے۔ سبھا کسی بھی ایسی انجمن سے
رابطہ اتحاد قائم کرنے سے گریز نہیں کرے گی کہ جو ریاست میں جمہوری نظام
قائم کرنے کی ولادہ پھوں -

ہندوستان کی قومی تلخی سے بھارتی ظالم کرتے ہوئے
آپ نے فرمایا کہ ہم اسی فڈرل ڈیمینٹ کا فرض مقدم کریں گے کہ
جس میں ریاست جھوں و کشمیر ایک فرد کی حیثیت سے
شامل ہوں گے۔ آپ نے مزید کہا کہ فڈریشن
کے یہ سارے عناصر عوام کی طرف سے منتخب ہونے چاہئیں
نہ کہ احکام کی طرف سے۔

حکومتِ کشمیر اور مسلمان

..... اس سبب تک نہیں کے ریاست کشمیر کے اندر مسلمانوں کی پوزیشن ۸۵ فیصدی تک پھیلی ہے اور ہمیں اسباب کا بھی اعتراف ہے۔ اور یہی کہ یہاں کے مسلمان تعلیمی لحاظ سے باعزت سرکاری ملازمتوں میں بمقابلہ ہندوؤں کے بہت پیچھے ہیں گوانسی سمیت کی سفارشات پر وائی ملک کی ہر توشیح و ثبت بنونے کے بعد یہ امر تسلیم کرنا پڑے گا کہ مسلمانوں کو سرکاری اداروں میں تہذیبی و تمدنی لحاظ سے حاصل ہونے شروع ہوئی اور گزشتہ ۹ سالوں میں ان کے اعداد و شمار کافی حد تک ترقی پذیر ہوتے چلے جا رہے ہیں۔

حکمران کا مذہب انصاف ہے۔ اور رعایا کا ہر فرد خواہ وہ ہندو ہے یا مسلمان کھو یا عیسائی ہر یک بن ہے یا کہ شہریت کے پیر و کار آخوند کے نزدیک پیاری رعایا شمار ہوتا ہے اور اس بات سے بھی کسی مجال انکار نہیں ہے۔ کہ آخوند نے ترقی پسند حاکم کی طرح رعایا ریاست کے عائدوں کو حکومت کشمیر کے نظام حکومت میں شریک بنا رکھا ہے۔ مجلس وضع قوانین میں رعایا کے باشندوں کا اقتدار حاصل ہے کہ وہ قوانین کی تشریح میں رعایا کے مفاد کے مطابق انہیں مرتب کریں مختصر اور غیر مبہم الفاظ میں کہہ دینا کافی رہے گا۔ کہ ریاست کشمیر ان عام سطحی منتخب امور میں تو کسی ملک کی ترقی کا نمایاں اصول پوائے رہے ہیں گری ڈیسی سے حقہ لے رہی ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ اس کا رتبہ برطانوی ہند کی جملہ ریاست میں بلحاظ اصطلاحات بلند ارفع ہے۔

ہمارے مسلم لیگ کا نظریہ

نیڈرٹ فوالتھل ہندو نے گزشتہ دنوں فیدرہ باد کے مطلق اپنی تقریحات بیان کی تھیں۔ اور بتایا تھا کہ فیدرہ باد کی موجودہ حکومت اس قابل ہے کہ اسے تبدیل کرے اسے فیدرہ باد کے رتبہ دیا جائے۔ اور اس طرح ہمارے ہمارے ہر آدمی مسلم لیگ نے تشرف کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ دیا اور لکھا کہ کشمیر میں مسلمانوں کی مختلف تہذیبی قانون ہے اور مسلمانوں کے ساتھ نہایت ذلت

10 جنوری 1945ء

جوں میں پنڈت جی ایل لال بہرو کی آمد :- پنڈت جی ایل لال بہرو مطلقاً بہروگرام
11 مارچ 1945ء بجے دوپہر کو یہاں رونق افروز ہوں گے۔ آپ کے استقبال

کی تیاریاں زور و شور سے ہو رہی ہیں۔ مقامی سماجس اپنے اپنے

سپاس نامجات پیش کریں گی۔ پنڈت جی سے دلی عقیدت

کا اظہار کرنے میں ہر کوئی سرگرم معروف ہے۔ آپ کے استقبال

کے متعلق مفوم ہوا ہے کہ بائیاں سے ہی پر جوش استقبال شروع

کیا جائے گا۔

17 جنوری 1945ء

نیشنل کالفرنسی نے پنڈت جی ایل لال بہرو کا استقبال
کیا۔

یہ خبر سرت سے پڑی جائے گی۔ کہ نیشنل کالفرنسی جوں نے پنڈت جی ایل لال بہرو

بہرو کی جوں میں ہر تشریف آوری پر ایک شاندار دروازہ بنایا جس

پر کالفرنسی کا جھنڈا لہرایا گیا۔ ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کے بورڈ

چسپاں کے پوڑے تھے۔ سبیل کا انتظام لیتا تھا۔ بینڈ باندھ کر مارتا

مگر حیران کن امر یہ ہے کہ بعض پچھلے نو جوانوں نے کہ جو اپنے خود کو

کانگریسی کہتے تھے ایل باندار کو کالفرنسی کے جھنڈے اتروانے

اور ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کے بورڈ کو قائم کرنے کے لئے اکسائیڈ کیا۔ مگر
 ان کی تمام کوششیں بے سود ہو گئیں۔ ریاست میں ذمہ دار نظام
 حکومت کے حامی لوگ ان نوجوانوں کے اس فعل کی مذمت کر رہے ہیں
 پنڈت صاحب کے استقبال کے وقت دیگر مسلم اصحاب کے علاوہ
 سٹریٹس اور ریلوے سٹیشن پر موجود تھے۔ جنہوں نے پنڈت جی کو مار
 پھینکا۔

17 جون 1940

Column: 3

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فخریہ پنڈت جی کے اصل صاحب پرو کا عقیدہ مبنیٰ ہے استقبال
 ریاست جوں و کشمیر کی سیاست پر ہی رائے رکھنے کی اور
 فرمایا۔ کہ جو قوم نوکریوں کو اپنا زیور شمار قرار دیتی رہے۔ وہ ذلالت
 کی طرف جا رہی ہے۔ ترقی کی بجائے تنزلی کی طرف رخ رکھتی ہے۔ ملک
 کے اندر ضرورت ہے۔ کہ کار خانات کے ذریعہ ترقی کی جائے۔ یہاں
 کی حکومت ان بشمار قوائد سے انھیں بند کر دیئے ہوں۔ جو
 اس ریاست میں بھرے پڑے ہیں۔ بجلی کے ذریعہ یہ ریاست بہت
 فائدہ اٹھا سکتی ہے۔ پنجاب وغیرہ کو سبیل کی کوئی ہے۔ مگر

اسی کی طرف یہاں کی حکومت غور نہیں کرتی۔ - ملازمینوں کے متعلق
 پنڈت جی کے بلکل ویسی خیالات ہیں جو کہ ہم نے چاند کی گزشتہ شامت
 میں بیان کرے تھے۔ یعنی کہ سینڈھار سرکاری ملازمینوں میں ملک کے
 36 لاکھ انسانوں کی فلاح و بہبود سمجھ رہے ہیں۔

15, 30, 1940ء

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Editorial

مہاراجہ گارڈز اور نیشنل کالفرنسی کا فرار
 نیشنل کالفرنسی کا عدم تعاون
 ریاست جوں و کشیر کے عوام کے جذبات کی ترجمانی کرنیوالی صرف ایک جاء
 نیشنل کالفرنسی ہے۔ اس کا دعویٰ ہے کہ وہ ریاست میں اپنے دے
 36 لاکھ انسانوں کے حقیقی فیروز اور نمایندہ جماعت ہے۔ وہ رعایا کے دک
 درد کو اپنا دک سمجھتی ہے۔ وہ بار بار کہہ چکی ہے کہ ریاست سے غریبی
 افلاس کو دور کرنے کے لئے ہر ممکن ذریعہ عمل میں لائے جائیں گے۔ وہ ذمہ دار
 نظام حکومت کو اپنا لقب العین سمجھتی ہے۔

15th, July, 1940

Title page.

Miss Mahmuda Ahmad Ali
the first Kashmiri Khatun who passed
the M.A (Politics) and B.T. Examinations
with distinctions. She has been elected
the president of the FREE THINKERS
SOCIETY Srinagar.

22 July, 1940.

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column: 4

۱۳ جولائی ۱۹۳۱ء
ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کے علمبردار۔ ملک کے اتحاد کی شہدائی
بل لحاظ مذہب و ملت فرد بشر کی نمائندہ جماعت کیلانے کی
دعویدار نے ۱۳ جولائی ۱۹۳۱ء کا دن غلط لیا ہے۔ اور مناکرہ
اقدام کیا ہے۔ یا درست۔ یہ تو وقت ہی جواب دیگا کہ مستقل قیادت
میں اس کا اثر نیشنل کالفرنس پر پڑیگا۔ لیکن اتنا ضرور کہہ
گئے کہ کالفرنس اس دن کو مناکرہ شدید غلطی کی مرتکب ہوئی ہے۔

15th, August, 1940

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کشمیر پریس پرنٹری پابندیاں
ڈیفنس ایکٹ کا اطلاق
سرنگر 27 جولائی۔ جوں و کشمیر ڈیفنس رولز کے تحت حکومت کشمیر نے ایک
نوٹیفکیشن جاری فرمایا ہے جس کی رو سے اخبارات پر پابندی لگادی

ہے۔ اس نوٹیفکیشن کی رو سے کوئی دستاویز جس سے دشمن کو کوئی فائدہ اٹھانے

ملتی ہو یا کوئی دستاویز جس سے دشمن کو کوئی فائدہ پہنچے ہو۔

آرٹینس کے نفاذ سے قبل یا اس کے بعد مرتب ہوئی ہو یا طبع ہوئی ہو۔ یا اشاعت

پذیر ہوئی ہو۔ گورنمنٹ ایڈیٹر پرنٹر پبلشر یا اس شخص کو جس کے قبضہ

میں دستاویز ہو حکم کر سکتی ہے کہ اس شخص کا نام اور پتہ تبدیل

کے جس نے اس دستاویز کو ہم کیا ہو یا ایسی کوئی رپورٹ دی ہو۔ اب اس دستاویز

کا ہر ایک کاپی اس حکم کے پاس پیش کرے جیسا کہ حکم میں درج ہے۔

۲۔ اس دستاویز کی مزید اشاعت فروخت یا تقسیم ممنوع ہو

جائے۔ اس حکم میں اضرعات اور دوسرے میگزین بھی شامل ہوں

۳۔ اس دستاویز کی تمام کاپیاں بحق بہادر ام ضبط کر لی جائیں

12 August, 1940

Page: 6

ایڈمنسٹریشن رپورٹ ریاست ۱۹۳۸-۳۹ء

پر جا سکا

سال زیر بحث میں آئینی مراعات کے تحت جدید عطا کی گئی اور بدلیہ

نامزدگی پُر ہونے والی سولہ نشستوں میں سے سات نشستیں خاص

حلقہ ہائے مفاد کے لئے وقف کر کے ان کے لئے نامزدگی کی جائے

انتخاب کا طریقہ مقرر کیا گیا ہے۔ ~~مجموعہ~~ مجبوروں کو یہ حق دیا گیا کہ وہ
 اپنے میں کسی ایک کو ڈپٹی پرنسپل منتخب کر سکیں غیر سرکاری
 مجبوروں میں بذریعہ نامزدگی پر جاسما انڈر سیکرٹری کے تقرر کی رعایت ہی
 یہی آئی گئی۔ مجبوروں کو یہ حق دیا گیا۔ کہ وہ حاصل کی مدت کے متعلق
 مطالبات زرعی صورت میں اپنی تجاویز پیش کر سکیں۔ ص ب
 معمول پر جاسما کے وہ احکام ہوئے۔ ایک مارچ اپریل ۱۹۳۹ء
 جنوں اور آگست ستمبر ۱۹۳۹ء سرنگر میں۔ جنوں سیشن کے دوران
 میں سلیکٹ کمیٹیوں کی طرف سے موصول شدہ بارہ سرکاری بلوں
 میں سے پاس کئے گئے۔ دو غیر سرکاری بل پاس ہوئے۔ استغاثات
 کی تعداد ۸۶۵ تھیں۔ دو سرکاری بل جو سلیکٹ کمیٹی کے سپرد کئے گئے
 تھے۔ سرنگر سیشن کے دوران پاس ہوئے۔ اور نئے پیش شدہ
 سات سرکاری بلوں میں چار پاس ہوئے اور تین سلیکٹ کمیٹی
 کے حوالے کئے گئے۔ ایک غیر سرکاری بل امتناع رسوم
 رم بھی سرنگر سیشن میں پاس ہوا اور استغاثات کی تعداد ۹۲۹
 تھی۔

Secmd Sept. 1940.

Page: 5

Edition

نیشنل کالفرنس سے

فرقہ پرستی کے بکر بکراں کی بے پناہ امواج میں قوم ڈھکائی ہوئی کشتی زور دار تھپڑوں
 کے بجائے باعث پھکڑے کھاری تھی۔ اور ایسے طعنائت سے دو چار تھی کہ کوئی
 کسی کا پرسان حال نہ تھا۔ ممکن تھا کہ الٹ جاتی اور نذیر سمندر پہ جاتی لیکن خوش
 قسمتی سے شیخ محمد عبداللہ ایسے لائق اور تجربہ کار ناظر کی ناخدائی میں
 ملک ایک آزاد خیال ذہنوں نے اتفاق و اتحاد کے پھول لگا کر اس کو پار کرنے
 میں اپنی تمام کوشش صرف کرنا شروع کر دیں اور قومیت کی دیوی مسلم کالفرنس
 کا بوسیدہ غیر جانوس ایک رنگا رنگ جامہ اتار نیشنل کالفرنس کے دیدار زیب
 لباس میں جھوں و کشمیر کی شیعہ برعکس ہوئی اور اپنی زندگی بخش تقاریر سے گلشن
 کشمیر کے ہر ایک ہل بوٹے کو پیغام تازگی دینے لگی۔ کیا دلفریب و عجیب منظر
 تھا۔ کہ طائران خوش الحان نے اپنی شیریں اور دلکش سروں میں لہجہ
 اتحاد اپ کر دیوی کی لہجہ کو ذریعہ نجات جانا اس کے سامنے اپنی
 جین نیاز جھکائی۔ اس کعبہ کی آستان بوسی کو فخر جانا۔ ہندو مسلم
 شکوہ زحمانے یک جان و یک زبان ہو کر اس کے روبرو سجدہ کرتے
 ہوئے ملک و قوم کی خدمت کے لئے حلف و قیاداری لیا۔ غریبوں

کی حمایت مظلوموں کی امداد - نرندوروں کی رہنمائی ذمہ دار نظام حکومت

کو اپنا نصب العین قرار دیا اور جہوں و کشتیوں کے ہر دو صوبوں کے ہندو مسلم سکھ

مجمروں نے جیسے سرسبز و شاداب کرنے کے لئے جیل خانہ کو اپنا مکان بنایا -

آغاز محبت کے اس اندازے ہوئے طوفان نے ایک عالم کو اس کالفرنس

کے مستقل حیات کا یقین دلادیا - اور مقبولیت عامہ کی یہ پھر فرقہ درانہ

سماجی سوانٹیوں کیلئے زیر قاتل ہو کر اُفق جہوں و کشتیوں بلند ہوئی - دھار

ہاتھ سے جا رہا تھا - جاہل اور سادہ مزاج عوام کی جیبوں پر جو ڈاکہ فرقہ

پرستوں کے ہاتھ پڑ رہا تھا وہ شرمندہ ہو کر گناہی کی منزل میں ہونے لگا -

وہ جن کے سفار پر ضرب آ پڑی تھی جن کی لیڈری میں ~~فرقہ پرستی~~ آ پڑی تھی

فرقہ آلیا تھا وہ طوفان رعد و باد بن کر اسی پر برس پڑے طعن و تشنیع کے بازار

گرم کئے گئے ایک کے اٹھتے ہوئے دلوں کو دو کئے گئے وہ سدا رہ بن سلسلے

آئے لیکن قومیت متحدہ کے نشہ میں مخمور نشیلی آنکھ پر یہ تمام

دار اوچھے تھے - تمام تیرے نشانہ تھے - اور توہم پرستوں کی مستقل

مزاہی کاروان حیات کو منزل مقصود کی طرف لے جانے میں

مصرف عمل رہی -

وقت آیا۔ کہ مخالفین نے اس کی ہر دلیزیری کا اعتراف ہی نہیں کیا۔ بلکہ

اس کا فرائج تحسین بھی ادارہ کیا مگر ناکامی کی ہوا چل پڑی۔ حالات نے

پلٹا دکھایا اور جس سرعت سے اس کی بیل منڈھے پڑھ رہی تھی۔ اُسی طرح

یک دم رک گئی۔ اس کے بعض ارکان حقوی کے درمیان اختلافات

کے خلیج حائل ہو گئی۔ شیخ محمد عبداللہ ایسی فرانجی شخصیت تھے ~~جن کے~~ ملک میں

نے جنہوں نے اس کی بنیاد رکھی رکھ کر عوام کو صحیح طور پر رہنمائی کی تھی۔

جن کے سینے میں جذبہ حب الوطنی کو ٹوٹ کر بھرا ہے جن کے اوصاف

حمیدہ کے پیش نظر اس کا لفرنس کا طوطی بول رہا تھا۔ اس خلیج کو پاٹنے میں ہر

ممکن کوشش کی۔

شہر ججوں میں اس کا لفرنس کے سرگرم مجرموں کی وہ کوشش جو کہ

ابتدا میں تھیں۔ نہ رہیں اور محو وہی بہت نشیل کا لفرنس کی بھت کا اُن

کے سینوں میں سنگ رہی تھی۔ اس پر آپ کی جو شاہجہری تقریر جو کہ پنڈت

پترو کی آمد پر کانگریس پنڈت ججوں میں فرمائی نے بانی کا حکام دیا اور خود ہی

اپنے رفقاء کار کی قیادت سے دست برداری کا اعلان کر دیا۔ غرضیکہ

نشیل کا لفرنس سرنگر کے کٹری پنڈت ارکان کی اور ججوں میں

مسلمانوں کی جنہوں نے اپنی بنیادیں مستحکم کی تھیں۔ پھر دی

گھو بیٹھی ہیں شیخ محمد عبداللہ سے دلی عقیدت ہے۔ نیشنل کانفرنسی
 کی ہم ملک کی نجات دہندہ جماعت تصور کرتے ہیں۔ اور یہ ایک ایسی
 سوشلسٹ ہے جس کی ریاست میں اشد ترین ضرورت بھی ہے لیکن ہمیں
 یہ کہنے میں ذرا بھی ہبا نہیں کہ یہ مرکز درپونگی ہے اور اس کا شیرازہ
 بکھریا ہے۔ دنیا میں فطرتوں سے گزر رہی ہے وہ اظہار من الشمس ہیں۔ ایک پر
 زیادہ کفیل حاصل ہے۔ روزانہ اخبارات میں اس کا شربڑھ رہے ہیں۔
 ریڈیو گلابا کر مستقبل کے فحشات کا ہر کسی کو پیغام دے رہا ہے۔ اور
 اس نظام ہٹلر کے فوجی کال منصوبے آزادی اور جمہوریت کو سلب کر رہے

— ہیں —

۳۰ ستمبر ۱۹۴۵ء

نیشنل کالفرنس کا سالانہ جلسہ
بارہمہولہ ۲۷ ستمبر - آج نیشنل کالفرنس کا اجلاس شروع ہوئی۔ بینڈل کوٹری
محنت سے نجایا گیا ہے۔ اور سردار بدھی سنگھ بی پرزیدینٹ کا جلوس
بڑی دھوم دھام سے نکالا گیا۔ جلوس میں سردار صاحب کے ہمراہ شیخ
محمد عبداللہ اور کئی نیشنلسٹ لیڈر موجود تھے۔

پریزیدینٹ صاحب کا صدارتی ایڈریس -
بارہمہولہ ۲۷ ستمبر - سردار بدھی سنگھ بی پرزیدینٹ نیشنل کالفرنس
بارہمہولہ نے اپنے صدارتی ایڈریس کے دوران میں فرمایا ہے کہ برٹش
ایمپیریا میں گائٹریسی پوری آزادی چاہتی ہے۔ اس طرح انڈین
سٹیت میں سبک ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کا مطالبہ کرتی ہے۔ جس
میں کہ لوگوں کی کافی موثر نمائندگی ہو۔ آپ نے مزید فرمایا کہ کتنا
بڑا رخصتوں کا مقام ہے اس وقت جب کہ دنیا کی بڑی بڑی
حکومتیں ایس میں گتھم گتھیا ہو رہی ہیں اور بین الاقوامی حالات کا
جانچنے لگنے کا ذرا بھی دھچکا نہیں کیا۔ آپ نے اخبارات کو مذہبی
اور فرقہ وارانہ فسادات کا موجب ٹھہرایا۔ کہ یہ مختلف فرقوں
کو متحدہ ہو کر ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کے حصول کے لئے مارش
کرنے میں لگے۔ رکاوٹیں ڈالتے ہیں۔

۶ اکتوبر ۱۹۴۵ء

سردار بدھی سنگھ کی کا خطبہ صدارت
تیاگ مورتی سردار بدھی سنگھ کی صدر آل جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کالفرنس
نے بارہمہولہ میں اپنے خیالات کا فوجی خطبہ صدارت کے رنگ میں
پیش کیا ہے۔ وہ بیشک ریاست کے طول و عرض میں پھیلی ہوئی مخلوق
کے افکار و آرا کا آئینہ دار ہے۔ بھاری ریاست کی سیاسی زندگی
گزشتہ دس گیارہ سالوں میں ملازمتوں کے چکر میں پھنسی ہوئی تھی۔
کہ انہیں سرکاری ملازمتوں میں حصہ نہیں مل رہا۔ اور دوسری طرف ہندو اور
کچھوں کا بھی اس قسم کا شور و غل بپا ہونا شروع ہو گیا ہے۔ یہ تینوں
عزز قوتیں اپنے اپنے مفاد کی خاطر ایک دوسرے سے الجھنا شروع
ہو گئیں۔ جس کا لازمی نتیجہ یہ ہوتا رہا کہ خرابات کی جھانک
پریش پوری درست کیا تو تمام طول و عرض میں پھیلی ہوئی
گئیں۔ یہ خیال کسی کو بھی نہ آیا کہ ہندو نژادوں کے مل جلنے سے ملک

کی مفلسی غریبی اور ناداری کا خاتمہ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس مرض کا اصل علاج تو ملک کا اندر ذمہ دار نظام حکومت قائم ہونے میں رہے۔ سردار صاحب نے اپنے خطبہ صدارت کے اندر مزدوروں - کسانوں اور غریبوں کی ترجمانی کرتے ہوئے کنشیلزم کے فروغ کے لئے بار بار ذکر کیا ہے۔ اور کیا ہے کہ بیمار لصب العین زندگی صرف ایک ہونا چاہیے یعنی کہ ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کا حصول۔ تو جب حکومت رعایا کے نمائندوں کے ہاتھ میں ہوگی تو یہ امر لازمی ہے کہ ہم اپنی قیمتوں کو بنانے کے لئے خود ہی مفید تجاویز پر عمل پیرا ہوں گے۔

Page: 9 Column=1
 اکتوبر ۱۹۴۵ء
 قرار داد باجوال جوں و کشمر نیشنل کالفرنس کے سالانہ منعقدہ بارنولہ زیر صدارت سردار بڈہ سنگھ جی یاس پوٹی۔

باجوال جوں و کشمر نیشنل کالفرنس کا یہ اجلاس اپنے اس متمم یقین کا اقرار و ازالہ کرتا ہے۔ کہ باشندگان ریاست کے لئے ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کا حصول کالفرنس کالصب العین ہے۔ یہ اجلاس ذمہ دار نظام حکومت کو ریاستی باشندوں کی تمام تکلیفات - مصائب اور دکھوں کا علاج سمجھتا ہے۔

The sub-polities of the Indian federal system have equally shown a remarkable disposition in strengthening democratic institutions and processes within their own jurisdictions.

For most people in Jammu and Kashmir political participation has a specific meaning and is confined to periodically exercising franchise rights. The exercise of a democratic right to vote has significant implications both for individuals and for the collectivities. Individually the decision to vote in periodic elections usually serves as a fundamental symbol of democratic system, and collectively as an integral part of the process through which people generally choose their governments and sustain them in office as long as they enjoy the trust and confidence of the electorate. It is through the mechanism of elections that people and their governments are brought closer to each other in relationships of legitimacy, which gives the people the satisfaction of being instrumental in constituting their own governments and eventually have the satisfaction that government is organized for the convenience of the governed. They feel they have a definite role and this feeling fosters a sense of identification with the system at large and its sub-processes, which is so very vital indeed, to the success and health of democratic institutions.

The major areas which the present report seeks to cover are fairly diversified and varied. The first of these broadly deals with the attitudes of the voters towards society and politics in Jammu and Kashmir. The intention to investigate the voters' political attitude is to enhance our understanding of the background of political choice and an appreciation of how people usually perceive their political and social environments.

A second important area deals with the psychological components of the electoral choice. A study of the voters' general perception of his electoral environment will help us determine his voting behaviour. How and to what extent does he identify himself with a particular political party, will largely influence his voting choice. His partisan attachment and identification, the intensity and the stability of his ties with a particular party will, indeed, go a long way in understanding voting behaviour in general.

contd... 4th

INTRODUCTION:

Psychology

1. Most of the existing literature on elections, broadly seems to fall into two major types. There is, first of all, the voting system ~~per se~~, which includes arguments over the major advantages of various modes of representation like proportional representation, preferential ballot, plurality, Party list or the list system and so on. Many people seem to assume that the electoral system is the same thing as the total election system (see, for example, D.W. Rae, The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.)

The second major approach to the study of elections has been to concentrate on the outcome. Close attention is paid to the outcome of the election as a whole, with an effort to explain and even sometime predict election results where advance mathematical techniques make it possible to do so.

From this perspective an election is conceived as an highly dynamic process which operates within a particular political system. Thus the electoral system involves a number of processes and participants, chief among them being the candidates supported by organized political parties and groups, the electorate consisting of eligible voters, the election machinery and definite electoral procedures as prescribed by the electoral laws. There are thus four different variables. First of all, there are the candidates, whose selection for the electoral competition is both the primary function ~~function~~ and responsibility of political parties. In fact, this is the most crucial and vital part of the total electoral process. After having been adopted, the candidates then begin to take the most active part, for it is primarily their own responsibility to compete with their political opponents, canvass for the voters' support and convince the voters about their suitability as candidates. Though their selection is basically determined by their party leaders, yet a host of considerations, social, cultural, economic and political, obviously enter the process of selection. The candidates own social background, his standing both in the party and in the constituency, his suitability as a candidate, his prospects of success or victory, these and similar considerations ought and do heavily weigh in the selection process. That is how certain

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For God and Country

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Bergstrom and others objected to Reagan's assertion that "morality's foundation is religion." Said the Lutheran leader: "Even Scripture admits the morality of nonbelievers." Forest Montgomery, an official of the moderate National Association of Evangelicals, also faulted the President's closed equation of religion with righteousness. "I sympathize with the nonbelievers on that one. There are some very fine atheists."

The debate over the role of religion in politics is clearest when it involves a specific matter of public policy. The most contentious issue is Government tolerance of, and financing for, abortions. On a personal plane, abortion is a moral and religious decision. Politically, pressure continues for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortions, and the G.O.P. platform went so far as to suggest that oppo-

Questions about the role of religion in politics also occur on a level more abstract than the to-and-fro over particular legislative issues. By allying himself with the Religious Right and its tendency toward a self-righteous zeal, President Reagan can seem, at times, to be appropriating godliness itself for his party and Administration. Last week Columnist Mike Royko joked bitterly about the tendency. "They've managed to convince a large segment of the population that God is a conservative Republican."

For example, Nevada Senator Paul Laxalt, Reagan's best friend on Capitol Hill and chairman of his re-election committee, signed a campaign letter sent in July to 80,000 Fundamentalist Christian ministers, encouraging them to register congregants and endorse Reagan. The overtly

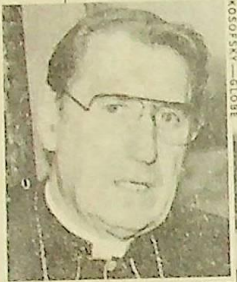
secularists, and why shouldn't he?"

That "persecuted" wing of the Republican Party is ascendant. Falwell's Moral Majority, now almost uniformly pro-Reagan in its politics, claims 6.5 million members (up from 1 million in 1980) and plans to register 2 million new voters this year. The New Right's stark political fervor makes it powerful beyond its numbers alone. "They may not be a majority of the electorate," says Falwell, "but they are major enough to determine who gets elected."

Maybe, maybe not. Governor Charles Robb of Virginia, a moderate conservative, recently urged Mondale to raise the issue of Reagan's affinities for the Religious Right. To make his point, Robb said that Falwell, a constituent, is "the most unpopular person in the state." In addition, there may be strains between the President and his strict Fundamentalist friends. Cal Thomas, vice president of Moral Majority and a syndicated columnist, has expressed a few qualms about Reagan's private life. Thomas wrote last week that the President should spend more time with his family ("He never sees his grandchildren"), give more money to charity ("He gives less than Mondale"), and go to church more often than every few months.

As a great campaign debate looms, the risks are substantial for the two candidates and for the country. Reagan may have misread a national hunger for moral and spiritual uplift as a desire for a specific religious regimen. Mondale could be hurt if he is perceived as insensitive to religious yearnings. In either case, new religious tensions could be stirred.

Like many Americans, Reagan has a religious sense that lacks much formal institutional grounding, but nonetheless seems earnest and powerful. Mondale, the pious and principled son of a Methodist pastor, has a temperamental aversion to wearing his faith on his sleeve—but he apparently feels his faith deeply and knows what he believes. What is at issue, or should be, is neither the sincerity nor the righteousness of the two men's beliefs. Rather, the point is their basic difference in outlook, reflected within the electorate, over the proper role of religion in the political realm. If conducted on that level, the debate need not be ugly, and might even be edifying. "Everybody seems to agree that one cannot ultimately separate religion from politics," says Harvard Divinity School Professor Harvey Cox. "The question is how they are to be related in such a way that civility and respect for minorities are guaranteed and nurtured. I am confident that our society has a large capacity for this kind of discourse." —By Kurt Andersen. Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington and Christopher Ogden/Dallas, with other bureaus



OSCAR DE LA ROSA



DINA WALKER



GRAY—PICTURE GROUP

Proponents of prayer in school pray for success; insets, Archbishop O'Connor and Falwell
Said Falwell: "They are major enough to determine who gets elected."

sition to abortion should be required of prospective judges. The debate also involves whether those with deeply held views against abortion should feel compelled to oppose policies and politicians more tolerant of it. "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion," said Archbishop O'Connor in June. Governor Cuomo, who opposes a ban on abortion, was angry at the Archbishop's political intrusion. The two men have since come to a consensus on the separation of church and state, even as they agree to disagree about abortion law. "The Catholic Church will not tell people what party, what politician to vote for," says Cuomo. "They will teach us, and should teach us, what they think about abortion." Yet a fundamental, more personal question lingers, unresolved: Cuomo, Ferraro and others argue that their private disapproval of abortion has no necessary bearing on their public, political attitudes.

religious language and pitch have become controversial. "Dear Christian Leader," the letter began. "President Reagan, as you know, has made an unwavering commitment to the traditional values which I know you share. In addition, he has, on several occasions, articulated his own spiritual convictions. As leaders under God's authority, we cannot afford to resign ourselves to idle [political] neutrality..." The letter enraged conservative Columnist William Safire. "That political proselytizing is surely so unethical as to be un-American," he wrote last week. Safire also fumed about the "Fundamentalist intolerance" he found at the Dallas convention, and declared that "no President... has done more to marshal the political clout of these evangelicals than Ronald Reagan—to his historic discredit." William F. Buckley Jr., however, in a column last week, defended the President. Wrote Buckley: "Reagan is certainly attempting to attract the vote of those who believe they are being unfairly persecuted by the